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26 April 1984

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GULF SHIPYARD ACTIVITY DOWN DUE TO RECESSION

Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 17 Mar 84 p 10

[Article: "Shipyards in the Persian Gulf Face Recession Problems"]

[Text] The huge shipyards in the Gulf area, which were established in the wake of the oil prosperity during the seventies, are struggling to stay in business in spite of a worldwide recession, a decrease in the demand for oil, and the war between Iraq and Iran which apparently will not end any time soon.

These shipyards reflect the opulence which existed in the Gulf area during the last decade, and the managers of the shipyards feel that it is now time for them to adapt to a world in which the oil market has greatly declined.

Most of the shipyards have dismissed their workers, and some of the other ones have begun to seek out opportunities from the local area in order to find engineering-type work which would enable them to utilize their facilities once again. Right now freighters are the principal source of business for the shipyards which were built to service the 20 huge oil tankers which used to come into the Gulf area every day during the peak period of the oil boom.

However, the worldwide oil glut has meant that [many of] these huge tankers are no longer being utilized and less than half of them are now coming into the Gulf area.

According to the executive managers of the shipyards, due to the decrease in oil shipments from the Gulf area from 20 million barrels a day at the peak of the oil boom to about 8 million barrels a day, many of the shipyards are now working at only 25 percent capacity.

The financial crisis being suffered by shipowners has also contributed to creating problems for the shipyards, according to maritime navigation experts whose headquarters are in the Gulf area.

According to Mr Antonio Machado Lopes, general manager of the Arab Shipbuilding and Repair Yard in Bahrain, they are very anxious to reduce costs and are deciding not to repair their ships until it once again becomes possible for them to safely utilize them.

According to a report by REUTER, he says that this shipyard, which is a joint venture owned by several oil-producing Arab nations, is doing better business than expected in light of current market conditions.

Mr Lopes, who is Portuguese, said that in spite of the stiff competition from shipyards in Italy and the Far East, where prices were up to 35 percent lower, the Bahrain shipyard worked at 90 percent capacity in 1983.

He went on to say that he does not expect business in 1984 to be worse than it was in 1983.

People in charge of shipyards in the other Gulf nations are saying that earnings decreased 30 percent in 1983.

Mr Thorsten Andersen, the executive manager of the Dubai Dry Dock which has only recently started operations, says that his shipyard is employing only 500 persons, whereas the shipyard has the capacity to employ 2,000 or more persons when engaging in its business.

He went on to say that they were utilizing the shipyards only at about 25 percent capacity.

In another location in the UAE, the Sharjah Shipyard and Engineering Works Company is expecting a 15 percent decrease in its total business volume this year. It has already dismissed about 50 out of its total of 250 workers.

In 'Ajman, another area in the UAE, a spokesman for the Arab Heavy Industries Company which is run by the Mitsui Group of Japan said that the company's total business volume decreased from \$22.1 million in 1981 to about \$15.4 million in 1983.

Authoritative sources in 'Ajman have said that the company has dismissed 120 out of its total of 560 workers.

Mr Lopes said that it would be beneficial for the shipyards if Iran would carry out its threat to close the Persian Gulf area to shipping--provided that the Gulf were blockaded for a period of at least 2 weeks.

He said that, if this happened, the oil tankers would not be able to leave the Persian Gulf and the shipowners would then realize that this would be a very good time for them to have repairs done on their ships.

However, the Gulf war so far has had negative consequences for the shipyards. Iraq has been prevented from utilizing its Gulf ports to export oil. As a result of this, Iraqi tankers have not been able to be utilized and, generally speaking, there has been a decrease in the utilization of freighters.

Maritime navigation sources have said that there has been an approximately 40 percent decrease in the number of freighters coming into the Persian Gulf during the last 3 or 4 years because of the Gulf war and because of the decrease in the income of the Gulf nations which are suffering from a decline in oil revenues.

These sources went on to say that the Dubai shipyard, which has three dry docks and has the capacity to handle up to 1 million tons, represents the largest competitor for the Bahrain shipyards in the Gulf area.

The Bahrain shipyard company, which began operating 7 years ago, possesses a dry dock which is capable of accommodating 500,000-ton ships and has four berths.

It is being administered by a Portuguese firm.

Mr Lopes said that the company has decided to postpone its plans for building another dry dock until business improves. However, unlike many of his peers in the Gulf area, Mr Lopes is still optimistic about the future.

9468

CSO: 4404/396



'ANXIETY' OF TURKISH OFFICIALS IN TEHRAN EMBASSY REPORTED

Istanbul JAMANAK in Armenian 2 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] [Istanbul] HURRIYET's Tehran correspondent reports:

The situation continues to remain tense [at the Turkish embassy in Tehran] following the acts of mass murder staged by Armenian criminals against Turkish diplomats in Tehran. Turkish diplomats and their families living under tight security measures remind one of a brigade besieged by the enemy on all sides. Iran has been observing a long religious holiday since last Thursday. This country's religious holidays are longer than those of other Islamic countries. The streets are deserted, and all shops and government offices are closed. The entire city of Tehran appears to be in deep sleep except the Turkish diplomats and their dependents, numbering 301, and the Armenian criminals encircling them. Turks here are virtually besieged by Armenian terrorists and Tehran's 160,000 Armenians who arm and shelter the terrorists. Under the special measures announced by Ambassador Ismet Bersil--which virtually amount to a state of siege--everyone maintains a state of alertness. The diplomats and their dependents are dispersed in groups of three and four in easily defensible houses. The ambassador's residence in Puli Rumi looks like a battle station. The residence, built on a grounds of 80 hectares, is surrounded by barbed wire. The grounds are patrolled round the clock by guard dogs trained to attack any intruders.

There is a lot of concern about the state of health of Maj Ismail Pamukcu who is lying in coma in Shuhedah Hospital.

Still ahead is 24 April, the anniversary of the alleged genocide against the Armenians.

Immediately after that Prime Minister Turgut Ozal will begin a state visit to Iran during which a trade agreement worth more than \$1 billion will be signed. Iranian authorities have still not been able to provide assurances for absolute security. So far no information has been made public about the unidentified arrested terrorists.

9588

CSO: 4605/54

ASALA THREATENS TO BLOW UP HOSPITAL TREATING TURKISH OFFICIAL

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 3 Apr 84 pp 1,4

[Text] Speaking on behalf of ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia], an unidentified person yesterday called the officials of Iran's Shuhedah hospital and said that his organization will blow up the hospital if it does not terminate the treatment of Turkish Deputy Military Attache Ismail Pamukcu.

The unidentified caller, who spoke Farsi with an Armenian accent, demanded that hospital officials immediately terminate Pamukcu's treatment. Hospital officials, however, dismissed the threat as a ploy to cause confusion. They said: "Armenians maintain good relations with our revolutionary government, and several Armenians are treated in this hospital. Why would ASALA blow up a hospital where its compatriots are lying sick and are being treated?."

A similar threatening call was also received by retired Col. Osman Aras, who serves in the Turkish embassy in Tehran. An unidentified caller told Aras that the attacks will continue. The caller identified himself as an ASALA member.

New security measures were taken around the Turkish embassy following these threats, and an embassy security guard was placed round the clock at the door of Pamukcu's room in the hospital. Turkish officials have nevertheless decided to bring Pamukcu back to Turkey at the earliest opportunity to guard against any possible undesirable incidents.

Pamukcu's state of health continues to cause concern. He was given new blood infusions, and his face showed some signs of coming back to life. The swelling in his brain is also reported to have shrunk, but he remains in a state of coma. Professor Sefik Unlu calls the hospital every day and is regularly briefed about the patient.

Meanwhile, officials at the Turkish embassy in Tehran have decided to resume normal operations in a few days in view of Prime Minister Turgut Ozal's upcoming visit to Iran. Political circles are curious whether Ozal's travel plans will be changed as a result of the recent assassination attempts in Tehran. No one knows anything about this for the moment.

ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON TURKISH DIPLOMATS IN TEHRAN DESCRIBED

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 29 Mar 84 pp 1,4

[Text] ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia], the secret Armenian terrorist organization, carried out a series of terrorist operations in Tehran yesterday morning and the night before and wounded two Turkish diplomats. Thanks to the alertness of Turkish embassy personnel and the careful and professional work of the local police authorities a worse outcome was avoided. Had the terrorists fully succeeded in their objectives, several Turkish diplomats would be dead by this morning, including the Turkish ambassador in Tehran. The terrorist acts, planned by a group estimated to number 14 to 15 according to preliminary investigations, began two nights ago with an attempt to plant a bomb under Turkish Trade Attache Isil Unel's car. However, that attempt failed when the bomb accidentally exploded while it was being planted under the car. The terrorist, who was identified as Sultan Krikorian Sepemerden, was blown to pieces by the bomb that exploded in his hand.

Embassy personnel also noticed that Ambassador Ismet Bilisel's automobile was followed for a long time yesterday morning by a car carrying suspicious individuals. Following the previous night's car bomb incident, Ambassador Bilisel alerted the embassy personnel and asked them not to come to work in their own cars. It was suggested that they take taxis to work.

Hasan Servet Oktem, the first secretary of the embassy, was subjected to an armed attack at 8:00 am yesterday. The terrorists began firing on him while he was walking out of his home. Oktem was wounded in his shoulder, stomach and chin. His wounds are not serious and his life is not in jeopardy. The terrorists speedily vanished from the venue of the incident.

About the same time, Maj. Ismail Pamukcu, the Deputy Military Attache, became the target of a second attack. Pamukcu had walked out of his home to his car and was examining it to see if any bombs were planted under it when two terrorists riding on a motorcycle fired on Pamukcu and critically wounded him in the head. Pamukcu's spouse who witnessed the incident from the window of their home testified later that terrorists fired on his husband from a motorcycle and rode away with Pamukcu's briefcase.

Pamukcu was immediately taken to Pars Hospital where he underwent therapeutic surgery.

While Pamukcu's health condition was reported to be encouraging after the surgery, authorities stated that it will take 48 hours before they know if the threat to his life has passed.

While these incidents were taking place, Ibrahim Ozdemir, an administrative official at the embassy, realized before walking out of his home that two men were waiting outside. He immediately called the police. Security officials arrested the two suspects on the spot. The suspects turned out to be Armenians and were found to be carrying guns. It was obvious that they were also preparing to attack. The arrested terrorists were also found to have on them the names and addresses of two other diplomats who served with the embassy, Murad Ersavci and Ercumend Enc.

A fourth incident took place in front of the embassy building. It was noticed that three suspicious men were waiting in front of the embassy. Security officials arrested them as well. These suspects also turned out to be Armenians.

Based on information obtained from the two previously arrested Armenians, Tehran's security officials also arrested two other Armenians who were linked with these incidents. Thus the number of arrested terrorists rose to seven.

Foreign Minister Vahit Halefoglul had a meeting in Ankara yesterday with Abdullah Zifani, the Director General of Consular Affairs of the Iranian Foreign Ministry, who was in Ankara by coincidence. The meeting was also attended by the Iranian ambassador in Ankara, Mohammad Ganjidost. Halefoglul stated that the attacks on the Turkish diplomats in Tehran were organized by circles who want to undermine the development of Turkish-Iranian relations. The Turkish foreign minister demanded that the culprits be punished severely to set an example to others.

9588

CSO: 3554/53

TURKISH PAPER REPORTS ON 'PRO-ARMENIAN' ACTIVITIES IN U.S.

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 2 Apr 84 pp 1,4

[Text] Yesterday's edition of CUMHURİYET carried a report about Armenian efforts in Washington to have 24 April declared a day of mourning by the U.S. Congress.

Sedat Ergin filed the following report from Washington:

The Armenian and Greek lobbies are working feverishly to have the Congress endorse a bill they have drafted. They demand that Congress declare 24 April a day of mourning for the Armenians. If the proposal is endorsed, the said date would be declared as the anniversary of the "Armenian genocide."

Two bills have been submitted to the Senate on this issue. The first one was drafted by Senator Paul Tsongas, a leading figure in the Greek lobby. The second bill was drafted by Senator Levine. However, political circles in Washington do not believe that the Senate will pass any of these bills.

A similar effort was also staged in the House of Representatives. The effort here was spearheaded by Congressmen Coelho and Charles Pashayan, a leading figure in the Armenian lobby. As of last week, Pashayan had collected 80 signatures in support of his bill. While the Armenians claim that the number of signatures has reached 100, they still need 108 signatures for approval.

The bill drafted by Pashayan makes mention of the allegations about the genocide and its 1.5 million alleged victims. Pashayan also notes that it has been agreed to provide space for the Armenian genocide in the Holocaust Memorial to be built in Washington. Pashayan's bill also quotes a remark by President Reagan on 22 April 1981 when he linked the Armenian genocide with the genocide of the Cambodians and other peoples and said that lessons must be learned from such incidents.

Officials of the Turkish embassy in Washington have strongly protested these efforts in the Congress. In letters to senators and congressmen, Ambassador Sukru Elekdag cautioned them by saying that if the Congress passes such a bill Armenian terrorists will shed much more blood in the future. Elekdag also warned that the endorsement of such a bill may lead to very serious consequences.

Turkish organizations in the United States have also begun protesting the said efforts.

NEW WAFD'S POLITICAL, ECONOMIC VIEWS EXAMINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic Nos 214, 215, 10-16, 17-23 Mar 84

[No 214, 10-16 Mar 84 pp 39-43]

[Article from Cairo by Dr 'Amru 'Abd-al-Sami']

[Text] Al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il says, "Our relationship with the Wafd is everlasting, but...."

Dr Wahid Ra'fat says, "There is no tactical alliance between the Wafd and the Muslim Brothers."

A sense of joy has been prevailing since noon last Sunday, 12 February at the mansion of 73-year old Muhammad Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din Pasha, the leader of the New Wafd Party. Siraj-al-Din has returned to political life by order of the Council of State's administrative court which revoked the order for his political isolation. That order, which was in effect for 5 years, 8 months and 2 days, had been applied against Siraj-al-Din by president al-Sadat in accordance with one of his numerous referenda.

So far joy over the pasha's return to political life has been manifested in the green flags--Egypt's flag before the revolution--which are attached by supporters of the Wafd to their cars; in intermittent news about a major public figure joining the Wafd and in strange-sounding references to locations and organizations, such as al-Sa'di Club and the Wafd Board. The pasha had been delighted with these and many other manifestations which brought a smile to his face and may have caused him to chuckle from the heart.

AL-MAJALLAH interviewed al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il, leader of the Wafd's parliamentary group. He was the one who perpetrated the crisis by reacting to Faraj Fudah's book, "Al-Wafd wa al-Mustaqbal" [The Wafd and the Future] and refuting Fudah's case for secularism. The battle over secularism was merely a prelude to a discussion with al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il about many of the Wafd's and the Muslim Brothers' political premises.

[Question] Why did you choose to join the Wafd Party despite its well-known history of being linked to the idea of secularism and despite the fact that it has adopted slogans like "Religion is for God and the country is for everyone?"

[Answer] When people talk about a secular state, which is a state that is not associated with a religion, they do so under the influence of the French Revolution. That revolution broke out against clergymen and against the nobility and royalty. But none of this represents Islam which adopted the religious state in confirmation of what God Almighty said, "We have revealed to you the Book with the truth, so that you may rule among men by that which Allah has shown you" [Al-Nisa': 105]. Those who were influenced by the ideas of the French Revolution wish to vent their wrath on Muslim clergymen; they are thereby making a serious error in understanding the issue.

[Question] Let me ask you again. Do you believe that such a secular state is far from the Wafd's thoughts? Should one take the fact that you joined the Wafd Party to mean that the Wafd has washed its hands of a secular state?

[Answer] The Wafd has nothing to do with a secular state because it is committed to the constitution of Egypt which stipulates that Islam is the official religion of the state and that Islamic law is the principal source for laws. Fu'ad Siraj al-Din stood in court and said in his own defense, "The question is not whether or not there is to be a Wafd Party. The question is whether or not there is a constitution in Egypt." Siraj-al-Din then is a man who adheres to the constitution, and the constitution was ratified by the overwhelming majority of the nation. Thus I am ruling out a secular state on the basis of a democratic rationale, a constitutional rationale, an ideological rationale as well as a realistic rationale.

[Question] Are you also using the Wafd's history as a rationale to rule out a secular state?

[Answer] The Wafd Party did not embrace secularism. The party won the support of the Muslim Brothers in 1950, and it also won the support of Christians. Therefore, it is quite innocent of everything that the Sa'di's became involved in when they destroyed the Muslim Brothers in 1948. I believe that the Wafd deserves the support of the Muslim Brothers once again in 1984 because the Wafd was not responsible for the September 1981 decrees. The Wafd did not call for the normalization of relations with the Jews; it did not confiscate Islamic newspapers; nor did it take away from preachers their freedom to speak from the pulpits in mosques. It was the National Party that prevented the independents by law, and it was the National Party that prevented by law the establishment of political parties on a religious basis.

#### Historical Positions

[Question] With all due respect to the enthusiasm you show for the Wafd, allow me to question you as a non-partisan observer about these convictions. It is obvious that there are two standards in what you've set forth here. You are holding the National Party responsible for mistakes it made in actual practice and you are endorsing the Wafd Party for slogans that have not been put to a practical

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\* Translator's note: The translator has substituted the word, "rule" for the word, "arbitrate," the word used by N.J. Dawood in his translation of the Koran (Penguin Books, 1974). In "The Meaning of the Glorious Koran" Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall (New American Library) uses the word, "judge."

test. The matter of the normalization of relations with the Jews is an example. Can the Wafd Party adopt a different position "now"?

[Answer] As far as the normalization of relations with the Jews is concerned, the Wafd Party did exist in 1978. That party presented its opinion on the Camp David Accords in the People's Assembly. I personally was one of 15 representatives who rejected the accords. The Wafd Party expressed its reservations on the agreement, and this matter is still on record in the minutes of the session.

[Question] That's fine as far as stating historical positions for the record. But I am not asking about the past; I am asking about the future. How can the Wafd Party come up with another answer to this position?

[Answer] I believe this is a matter that the highest board of the Wafd will look into. Personally, I think, that from an Islamic point of view there can be no covenant between us and the Jews: only warfare. But it is the highest board of the Wafd that will determine the party's position.

[Question] This affirms the statement we made about the fact that there can be no comparison between one unit that is in a dynamic state--that is the National Party--and another that is in a static state--and that is the Wafd Party. Let us move to another point which we began to discuss. To what extent does the method which will be used by the Wafd Party to apply Islamic law coincide with the Muslim Brothers' point of view?

[Answer] The Muslim Brothers advocate Islam and the application of Islamic law. The constitution of Egypt placed Islamic law in its proper place, and the Wafd Party is committed to that constitution. I had called upon all the members of the People's Assembly to sign [a petition] for the application of Islamic law. Before joining the Wafd Party I asked Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din to tell me what the party's platform said about Islamic law, and he told me that Islamic law was the principal source of legislation. I would prefer if it were the only source. Recently, however, Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said in a newspaper interview, "Say what you want to say: the principal, the original or the only source of legislation."

[Question] Let me say, Your Reverence, that making such statements in this manner makes me repeat that this does not give the Wafd Party any special advantages because all Egyptian parties, even the National Party, are committed to that because it is stipulated in the constitution. Anyone who does not adhere to the constitution would be violating the law. What does the Wafd have in this matter over other parties?

[Answer] We think that the National Party was tested and that it failed from a military standpoint, a social standpoint and an Islamic standpoint. The Wafd, however, is the proponent of a message until it is put to the test. If the Wafd party says yes [to the application of Islamic law], it will have been truthful, but if it says no, then it will have lied, and on that day we will have something to say about that.

[Question] When you demanded the application of Islamic law in the People's Assembly, were you speaking as a representative of the party or as a man of the cloth?



[Answer] I believe I articulated the opinion of the Wafd Party, and its leader will not deny that.

Permissible for Whom?

[Question] To what extent is the Wafd Party capable of containing the various elements of the Islamic trend without these groups having an independent party that expresses their own politics?

[Answer] It is self-evident that the religious trend and the Wafd have a common interest. The Wafd Party needs "them" in the election campaign, and they need the Wafd Party as a vehicle that can accommodate them and make their actions in society permissible. On that basis I believe that the religious trend is not compromised by joining the Wafd Party on the basis of the fact that the Wafd Party, as I said, is committed to the constitution of Egypt.

[Question] Does this mean that the Islamic trend will be satisfied with this formula and will not ask for a separate change in the party afterwards? Or will that be a stage of transition?

[Answer] If the Wafd Party complies with Article Two of the constitution, our relationship with it will last forever, and our agreement with it will be continuous. What do we want other than that Islam be honored by the Wafd, or that at least the Wafd should succeed in breaking the political chains that are imposed on the Islamic trend? May God have mercy on the soul of Imam Hasan al-Banna who said, "We work together on what we agree on, and we give each other the benefit of the doubt on matters we disagree about."

[Question] Giving "each other the benefit of the doubt on matters we disagree about" is a statement that may have to do with daily policies. But when it has to do with the essence of existence, it is something else. It is obvious that joining the Wafd Party has become an objective to attain which one overlooks those with whom one disagrees, including an independent legal person.

[Answer] Let's leave the Wafd Party and the Islamic trend alone and say what we think about the application of Islamic law.

[Question] Your Reverence, I believe that the Wafd Party, as a liberal party, takes into account the fact that different political teams must have the freedom to form parties. These groups may include an Islamic trend among other trends. Would you deny these groups their right to have their own independent parties by your use of the term, "the moral relationship?"

[Answer] I understand that the freedom which is meant by the word, liberalism, has its rules. Otherwise, no legal boundaries would have been set to protect people's honors, property, lives and beliefs. If the Wafd provides for a liberal freedom, I believe that in that context, ideas will generate other ideas. If the Wafd has made a contribution to freedom, the proponents of all these ideas will be able to find parties that can express their ideas, and they will praise the Wafd for giving them what they had been denied for a long time.

[Question] Does this mean that the relationship will be a temporary one or an everlasting one?

[Answer] It will be temporary and then, God willing, everlasting.

[Question] What you are saying, Shaykh Salah, is that if an independent party for the religious trend should emerge, the relationship with the Wafd will be temporary. More importantly, are representatives of the Islamic trend certain that the Wafd Party is enthusiastic about the creation of such a partisan expression for them, or is the Wafd Party still influenced by the historical debate between Mustafa al-Nahhas and Hasan al-Banna when al-Nahhas refused to consider the Muslim Brothers a party? In his view the Muslim Brothers were merely a religious society.

[Answer] May God have mercy on the souls of Mustafa al-Nahhas and Hasan al-Banna. We joined the Wafd Party now because we believe that we are watching new changes. Some of these changes are good, and we will hold on to them; but some of them are not, and we will disassociate ourselves from them. Leaders of the Wafd Party are also aware of these changes. There is no doubt that the Wafd Party, which is the indisputable champion of freedom, will be called upon by its lengthy history to give everyone who has an opinion the opportunity to express that opinion and to express himself.

[Question] I still think that throughout our discussion you have been judging the Wafd Party in a static position and judging others in a dynamic position. You've permitted total positions for the Wafd Party that you prohibited for the National Party. There is nothing to justify confidence in the fact that these positions will materialize. Otherwise, the Muslim Brothers will have to give the Wafd Party the benefit of the doubt for not taking action to establish an independent party for them. They will have to do this to confirm Hasan al-Banna's statement about giving "each other the benefit of the doubt on matters we disagree about."

[Answer] Our confidence in the Wafd is unlimited. The Wafd has championed freedom in opposition to colonialism and to the [royal] palace. Let me repeat once again that the Muslim Brothers are good for the Wafd, and the Wafd is good for the Muslim Brothers.

[Question] Nevertheless, two Labor Party leaders stated that of all the Egyptian parties on the scene now, the Labor Party was the one closest to the Muslim Brothers. Is that true from your point of view, which is enthusiastic about the Wafd Party?

[Answer] I do appreciate the Labor Party, and I think that it is a disciplined party. But I also think that the people are the fountainhead for the Wafd Party; that the authorities wanted to deal a blow to it; and that the courts were fair to it. There is no doubt that people are the exclusive fountainhead for the Wafd.

This lengthy discussion with al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il reflects one aspect of the image the Islamic trend has of the New Wafd Party. However, in order to tie the loose ends in this argument, it was necessary for us to consider the point of view of Dr Wahid Ra'fat. He was a spokesman for the party (before the decision to revoke [the political] isolation was announced). Dr Wahid Ra'fat is one of the country's legal experts.

[Question] To what extent can the provision of applying Islamic law, which is found in the Wafd's platform, be consistent with the nature of the Wafd as a party that used to proclaim the slogan, "Religion is for God, and the country is for everyone?"

[Answer] The constitutions that preceded the revolution indicated that Islam was the state religion and that the Arabic language was the official language. Article Five of the 1964 Provisional Constitution also stated that. Then, finally, we have in the present constitution, which is the Constitution of 11 September 1971, Article Two which states that "The principles of Islamic law constitute a principal source of legislation." In 1980 that provision was amended to "Islam is the principal source of legislation." The linguistic difference between the two sentences is, of course, obvious.

[Question] But the party's platform states that Islamic law is an original source for legislation, and al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il states that it is the only source of legislation.

[Answer] The ideas we included in the platform are consistent with the constitution till 1978. When we printed another edition of the party's platform, we mentioned that the party was in the process of reconsidering parts of its platform in the light of changes that occurred since 1978. We do not wish to rush matters because this platform is written for as many as 5 years. These party platforms are not new, but they are changing. Accordingly, each part of the platform is turned over to a special committee which indicates the changes that are to be made in that part to make it compatible with the conditions we are experiencing. If we were to apply that to the subject at hand, we would find that the difference is theoretical. If we print a new edition of the platform, we will mention in it that "Islam is the principal source" instead of "a principal source," and that will make it consistent with the constitution.

[Question] But even the phrase, "the principal source of legislation" is different from the phrase, "the only source of legislation."

[Answer] Some people have said that using the word "only" would make it impossible to refer to other sources of legislation that may not conflict with Islamic law. What is intended here is a process by which existing laws can be purified and all laws revised on the basis of the provisions of Islamic law. I think we will agree that Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq al-Sanhuri, the man who wrote the present civil code, which is the most important civil code, was the Egyptian legislator with the most knowledge about the provisions of Islamic law. The differences between the civil code and Islamic law are very slight. We derive our positions from any source. What matters is that those positions do not conflict with Islamic law. We can even derive our positions from foreign constitutions when it comes to new matters for which scholars of Islamic law did not provide any provisions.

[Question] This has to do with statutory and constitutional jurisprudence. It also has to do with the party's point of view which is declared in the party's platform. But there is an organizational problem that has to do with the article by al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il which appeared in AL-AHRAR on 30 January 1984. In that article al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il stated that when he called for the application of Islamic law in the People's Assembly, he was doing so as the representative of the Wafd Party. Was that true?

[Answer] If I were empowered to speak for the Wafd Party, [I would say] we welcome al-Shaykh Salah and we welcome the fact that the Wafd is adopting his efforts to apply Islamic law. But we disagree with him on one detail: he wants to amend all the laws. I am not privy to this thoughts, but this is what one understands from his writings and his statements. At the same time there is another trend which thinks that existing laws are to be purified and formulated in accordance with Islamic law.

[Question] I am asking if al-Shaykh Salah was representing the party organization in this matter and in the letters he sent to members of the People's Assembly.

[Answer] We have been informed recently that al-Shaykh Salah was collecting signatures [on a petition] to expedite the application of Islamic law. This, of course, is his own privilege. We may disagree a little about this matter of expediting the application of Islamic law. The objective is the same, though the means may differ.

#### Flexibility

[Question] That may raise questions about the flexibility of the boundaries that separate personal initiative in the party from the party's position. What I'm saying is this: what are the absolute limits of obligation and adherence to the party within the Wafd party?

[Answer] You are, of course, raising that question because of the subject of secularism. The basis for that is that some people used Dr Faraj Fudah's book, "Al-Wafd wa al-Mustaqbal" to stir up Salah Abu Isma'il's fears of secularism. The fact of the matter is that the Wafd Party has not defended secularism, and Mr Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din has told al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il in several meetings, "I hope you will not be offended with us for something we did not say."

[Question] It was not only because of the question of secularism that we raised this question. We raised this question to register the positions that resulted from the tactical alliance between the Wafd and the Islamic trend. We raised this question because the lines of agreement and disagreement between these two will be very carefully drawn in the next stage by the boundaries of obligation and adherence to the party.

[Answer] The Islamic trend is a very ambiguous term because a distinction has to be made between the Muslim Brothers and extremist Islamic groups such as the Renunciation and Repudiation Society. This is because these groups are following the course of Khomeyni who is leading Iran to disaster. The worst kind of government is that of clergymen who led Iran into a dangerous theocracy. I do not believe that any sane person would agree to have clergymen seize power. This is the business of parties. A political party is a group of individuals who have certain principles and whose purpose is to reach power to implement those principles. The Muslim Brothers are not prohibited from joining a party like the Wafd Party, nor are they prohibited from achieving their objectives through it: objectives like the application of Islamic law or the dissemination of morals in society. That's all. I don't think, for example, that the Muslim Brothers are joining the Wafd to seize power and establish a government of Muslim Brothers.

[Question] But some of them are saying they are joining a liberal party that will work in parliament so that all political forces that are denied the privilege of having their own party can have that privilege.

[Answer] The Muslim Brothers will influence the Wafd Party because they will make members of the Wafd understand Islamic law since they specialize in that area.

[Question] That has to do with their benefit to the Wafd, but I am asking about their wish to have their own independent party.

[Answer] The problem of establishing religious parties is still controversial. I do not believe that the Wafd Party has made a decision on that matter. I want to draw a distinction once again between a legitimate religious trend and an illegitimate one. If the Muslim Brothers wish to work in parliament to achieve their demands by constitutional means, this is something we approve of. However, we reject what was done in the past, such as the formation of a secret agency which turned the society from a society for religious guidance to one that was striving to reach power. On the other hand, none of this precludes the right of clergymen to engage in political activity to improve matters. Such an effort would be acceptable. For example, they can call for an amendment to one article of the Egyptian constitution, such as the one which calls for "socialist conduct." This is something we do not understand; it would be better if the phrase were "Islamic conduct," and so on.

[Question] Can the dispute that occurred between Faraj Fudah and al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il affect the groups within the party?

[Answer] I am not a proponent of the secular state, but I would like to say that the reason for this dispute is that some people believe that secularism means godlessness. This is not true. A secular state is a state that does not interfere in religious affairs. It does not pay clergymen salaries, nor does it bear the expenses of religious institutions. Such a state is a legal person that has nothing to do with religion. But a secular state does protect religious rites, and it respects all religions. Egypt has been an Islamic state since the Islamic conquest, and all our constitutions recognize the fact that Egypt is an Islamic state, but that does not rule out other religions or other sects.

#### Personal Opinions, not an Official Position

Mr Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, president of the New Wafd Party told AL-MAJALLAH that the opinions expressed by al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il and Dr Faraj Fudah about secularism and Islamic law were the two men's personal opinions and did not reflect any of the party's official positions. Mr Siraj-al-Din affirmed that the Wafd's highest board has determined that all party members were to refrain from making statements regarding the party's official positions until they get such statements approved by the party's highest board.

Mr Yasin Siraj-al-Din, chairman of the General Wafd Committee in Cairo told AL-MAJALLAH, "The dispute that occurred between al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il and Dr Faraj Fudah has no effect on the Wafd's concern for bringing together the nation's Muslims and Copts." He added, "The General Wafd Committee of the Governorate of Cairo has decided to form a delegation that will make two visits to

affirm the Wafd's historical position which is based on the slogan, "Religion is for God and the homeland is for everyone." The first visit will be made to the shaykh of al-Azhar and al-Azhar's council of scholars. The second visit will be to Archbishop Shanudah and the Coptic religious court.

This delegation is awaiting a reply from security authorities to its request to visit Archbishop Shanudah in Wadi al-Natrun.

[No 215, 17-23 Mar 84 pp 40-43]

[Article from Cairo by Wahid 'Abd-al-Majid]

[Text] Is the Wafd Party a socialist party or a capitalist party?

Ibrahim Faraj: "The people were not involved in the nationalization of the Suez Canal."

Yasin Siraj-al-Din: "We are to the left of the National Party."

The social conflict in the New Wafd Party is not new; its history goes back to the mid forties. At that time the conflict began in the old Wafd Party over the method of response to social changes. Some people demanded that the party's program be changed so that social reforms can be realized. Others were reluctant to make such changes. Anyway, most Wafd leaders did not comply with demands for social change. With the restoration of the New Wafd to the political scene in Egypt, questions are being asked again about the dimensions of the social conflict within the party. Where does the New Wafd Party stand now on the social map of Egypt? This is the map that was re-drawn more than once by decrees from top government officials in which the Wafd was not involved. How is the New Wafd dealing with the changes that have come upon this map as a result of nationalization, the public sector and three agrarian reform programs? How is it dealing with the broad economic open-door policy that followed the relaxation of restrictions? Finally, how is it dealing with the tendency to set this economic liberalization on the right course? These questions acquire special significance in view of the fact that the New Wafd is leaning, under the pressure of the upcoming elections, toward opening its doors wide to various right-wing and left-wing trends. Will this intellectual diversity within the New Wafd lead to a conflict over the party's social posture?

AL-MAJALLAH broached this subject in two face-to-face interviews with two historical leaders of the Wafd: Ibrahim Faraj, the secretary general of the New Wafd Party and a minister in the old Wafd Party; and Yasin Siraj-al-Din, chairman of the General Committee of the New Wafd Party in Cairo. Yasin Siraj-al-Din also served as a representative of the Wafd in the last parliament before 1952. He is also the publisher of two Wafdi newspapers, AL-NIDA' and SAWT AL-UMMAH. Some observers think that he is also a candidate to succeed his brother, Fu'ad Siraj al-Din as leader of the New Wafd Party.

Our first interview was with Ibrahim Faraj. It came last February 12, 3 days after the court had ruled repealing the decree of his political isolation. We began by asking him about what was mentioned in his book, "Dhikrayati al-Siyasiyah" [My Political Memoirs], which was recently published in Cairo.

Ibrahim Faraj said in that book that al-Nahhas Pasha thought that the country had not matured enough [to handle] the nationalization because competent administrative leaders in it for that purpose were scarce. We asked him, "Does this mean that the Wafd rejects nationalization?"

[Answer] First of all, I would like to make it clear that there is a high-level committee that is now revising the Wafd's platform. Until that platform is published, I will be speaking about my own personal opinions. I am saying that I am not opposed to the principle of nationalization. Old capitalist countries like Britain occasionally resort to nationalization. Nationalization in Egypt, however, has been a recent question that appeared in 1961 in the wake of the merger of all authorities into one under the control of an autocracy. Therefore, the people were not involved at all in the nationalization measures that were carried out. In fact, they were also not involved in the decision to nationalize the Suez Canal Company. That decision was made without due consideration.

[Question] What do you mean when you say that the people were not involved in the nationalization measures?

[Answer] Nationalization measures are supposed to be issued by parliament or by popular organizations because authority comes from the nation. Everything must come from the people so that errors in application can be avoided. It is the absence of popular organizations that was behind erroneous economic decisions.

[Question] Do you believe then that the nationalization measures were a mistake?

[Answer] I am not saying that. However, the matter still needs careful consideration. I think that nationalization must be confined to major interests only so as not to lead to the nationalization of the private sector which must be given more room.

[Question] And what about the future?

[Answer] Guarantees have to be given to ensure that decrees will not be issued unexpectedly without adequate study, as was the case in the sixties. The most serious decisions made by 'Abd-al-Nasir were those that entailed political and social changes. He made those decisions without having the popular organizations have any effect on studying them or issuing them.

#### The Destiny of the Public Sector

[Question] What in your opinion is the destiny of the public sector?

[Answer] I think the public sector needs radical reform. That does not mean that the public sector is to be abolished; it means that it should be purged from those errors that have tarnished it so that this improper condition would not become established. The public sector is considered a stronghold for the Egyptian economy against international shakeups and fluctuations.

[Question] How can this be achieved?

[Answer] The public sector needs to undergo a screening and elimination process



so that only large companies that make a profit would be retained. Small companies that are losing money would be sold to the private sector.

[Question] How do you see the relationship between the public sector and the private sector?

[Answer] There ought to be balance between the two sectors. The public sector is restricted to major industries, basic utilities and vital interests. Thus, the public sector stays away from risky ventures which must be left to the private sector. Entrepreneurs would compete in those areas. The public sector must be preponderant, but it must not be in control. The state is not entitled to prevent the private sector from making investments in any areas under the pretext that those areas must be left to the public sector. The public sector may not claim a monopoly over anything.

[Question] How would you describe such a system? Is it capitalist or socialist?

[Answer] These labels are not important now. However, I would like to make it clear that some people's allegations about the Wafd being anti-socialist are not true. We only oppose those values and ideas that are alien to our society. We must purge socialism from these strange ideas. I pay no attention to labels. What matters to me is that the supreme interests of the people are achieved.

[Question] You said in your book, "Dhikrayati al-Siyasiyah," that most Wafd leaders in 1952 thought that agrarian reform could impair production. What do you think about this matter now?

[Answer] I am not opposed to the distribution of land to small farmers. This is a national matter, and it has to be done. It has been done. However, breaking up land holdings into very small holdings is extremely serious for agricultural productivity. A method must be found to combine these small areas of land together into areas of reasonable size that would allow for the utilization of technology in farming. This must be done with the consent of farmers. In other words, laws should have nothing to do with it.

Yasin Siraj-al-Din

After that AL-MAJALLAH interviewed Yasin Siraj-al-Din to ask him openly about where the Wafd stood now on the social map. Is the Wafd really a party for capitalists, and is it the party of the Egyptian right as some observers think it is?

[Answer] What is being said about the Wafd being a party for capitalists or a party that wants to restore capitalism is being said in an attempt to mislead young people. The Wafd has absolutely nothing to do with capitalism. Furthermore, is there a greater manifestation of capitalism than that which can be found in Egypt today? Before the 1952 Revolution the number of millionaires in Egypt did not exceed 20. And a millionaire at that time was a person who owned 1 million pounds or more. Now, however, we are talking about billionaires--people who have over 100 million pounds. There are hundreds of those in Egypt now!

[Question] Now that the Wafd has been restored, what is its position on such capitalism?



[Answer] I personally think that the accountability law must be applied. In addition, strict reporting of income for tax purposes must also be applied. Neither of these measures is being applied now.

[Question] Does this mean that the Wafd is standing now to the left of the ruling National Party?

[Answer] Yes, the Wafd does stand to the left of the National Party.

[Question] Do you then consider the Wafd Party a socialist party?

[Answer] We may say that the Wafd party is a people's party that leans toward socialism. In my opinion socialism protects the country from communism. If you were to refer to the Wafdi newspapers I used to publish late in the forties and early in the fifties--AL-NIDA' and SAWT AL-UMMAH--you would find that many of those who wrote in those newspapers, like Dr Muhammad Mandur, Salamah Musa and others, were socialists.

[Question] But don't some leaders of the Wafd oppose such a view?

[Answer] I am speaking for myself. Nevertheless, I would affirm that this is the view of most Wafdis. If we were to go back to the administrations of old Wafdi governments, we would find that the most important laws that these governments issued were those that were in the interests of workers and farmers. For example, the Wafd Party was the first party to think of a law regulating labor unions. It is known that unions are the arch enemy of capitalism. How then can the Wafd be a capitalist party?

[Question] But it is also known that some of the largest capitalists in Egypt have been members of the Wafd Party. Isn't this inconsistent with what you are saying about the Wafd's position on capitalism?

[Answer] Not at all. Capitalists have never controlled the Wafd. Evidence of that lies in the fact that it was the Wafd that issued the law for unions and also the social security law. Another example I would like to mention is this. When Fua'd Siraj-al-Din became minister of finance in 1951, he imposed a fee of 4 pounds for every qintar of cotton. In other words, at that time, he increased the burdens borne by large owners of farm land. How can this not be socialist thinking?

#### The Wafd and Nationalization

[Question] What then is the Wafd's position on nationalization?

[Answer] Many people may not know that when I was a member of parliament, I was the first to call for the nationalization of the sugar company in March 1951. The sugar company was one of the largest companies in Egypt. I was also the first to call for the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company 6 years before 'Abd-al-Nasir nationalized it. I presented a comprehensive proposal on that to the Council of Representatives, and that is established in the minutes of the council and in newspapers. We support nationalization. I personally think that if the Wafd Party were to return to power, it will not hesitate to nationalize

any private project that has a harmful effect on the people. For example, any project that manipulates prices or traffics in people's livelihoods or constitutes a monopoly in any field would be nationalized.

[Question] Do you think there are projects now to which such measures would be applied?

[Answer] I do not know exactly. The position of each company or project would have to be studied and investigated. If it becomes evident that a company is monopolizing a certain area, I personally think it should be nationalized and its owners compensated. What I object to is the confusion between nationalization and resentment.

[Question] By comparison, what would the Wafd do about public sector companies that are losing money?

[Answer] I personally think that companies which lose money for several years should have their shares sold to the public. It is not in Egypt's interests to hold on to companies that are losing money simply because they are public sector companies.

[Question] What about agrarian reform and the Wafd's position on it now?

[Answer] I would like to affirm that what some people are saying about the Wafd returning the agrarian reform land to its former owners constitutes another attempt to mislead the people. Such statements are fabrications and can never happen. This is a matter that is done with. The land has been turned over to other owners and it has been passed on to their children. In fact, there is no one today who would welcome the opportunity of owning 50 feddans, not to mention 1,000 or 2,000. And this is because of the major difficulties in farming. Quite the contrary, many land owners are putting their land up for sale. I am saying that I would refuse to take back my land, the land that went to agrarian reform, but it is only fair that I be compensated for it.

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## LEADERS OF WAFD INTERVIEWED ON MUSLIM BROTHERS ALLIANCE

### Controversial Alliance Generates Crisis

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3102, 23 Mar 84 pp 14-15

[Article by Raja' 'Abdallah and Najwan 'Abd-al-Latif]

[Text] The election campaign is just around the corner. All parties declared a state of emergency in their ranks; they reformed their alliances and made fundamental changes in some of their positions.

In the past few days the New Wafd Party underwent an about-face that turned the party away from its ideological heritage and led to struggles and crises. The election and numerous other factors forced the New Wafd Party to form an alliance with the Muslim Brothers.

Both parties forgot their ideological differences and the historical legacy of hostility left behind by the years and by the positions of each party. It was normal for this about-face away from the heritage of the Wafd to have a harmful effect on the party's organizational makeup. Many of the most important people in the New Wafd Party resigned, and others declined to join the party.

The crisis began finding its way to public opinion. Statements by people who left the Wafd Party were made continually, and there were contradictory responses from those who were sticking with the party. The battle was being fought over numerous questions; absolutely the most important of these questions is the principal and specific question of religion and secularism.

The parties to the battle are numerous. One of them is Dr Faraj Fudah, who at one time was considered the party's philosopher. Dr Fudah, who is a proponent of the idea of a secular state, surprised everybody by resigning from the Wafd Party.

Ibrahim Tal'at who is the champion of the old as well as the New Wafd is one of its principal leaders, having defended the party in the past and recently. Ibrahim Tal'at suspended his activities in the party, raising questions in everyone's minds.

Al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il is the official spokesman for the Wafd in the People's Assembly. He adopts the point of view that opposes secularism. Ibrahim

Faraj, the general secretary of the party, observes neutrality between those who are involved in the controversy. He is the one sitting on the fence.

Dr Wahid Ra'fat is the vice president of the party and the official spokesman to all those people. AL-MUSAWWAR had a face to face meeting with the parties in the conflict, and it presents this investigative report.

#### Controversial Book Causes Resignation

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3102, 23 Mar 84 pp 14-16

[Interview with Dr Faraj Fudah, the philosopher of the New Wafd]

[Text] "I resigned from the Wafd in protest over the party's alliance with the Muslim Brothers."

"Economic liberalism is not suitable for a party that claims to be the majority party."

"We are thinking of a new party for the future."

Dr Faraj Fudah is one of the better known young founders of the Wafd Party. He published a book that incorporates a methodology for his view of the party's future. Party president Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din gave his blessings to the book, 500 copies of which, autographed by Siraj-al-Din, were distributed to young party members. Suddenly the book became an issue between the author, who highlighted secularism and national unity as one of the objectives of the party--these were among the principles of the old Wafd--and the Muslim Brothers' trend which has invaded the new party.

The alien trend won a victory, and the old guard was silent. The new generation rebelled and left the party, one member after the other.

Dr Faraj Fudah told AL-MUSAWWAR the story from the very beginning.

[Question] Dr Fudah, when the revolution broke out in 1952, you were 7 years old. In other words you grew up with the revolution, and you are considered a member of that generation. Nevertheless, you became one of the most enthusiastic supporters and founders of the New Wafd Party. How did that happen and why?

[Answer] I do in fact belong to the Revolution's generation. In fact, in the beginning I was one of President 'Abd-al-Nasir's strongest supporters. I used to make a very strong case for the regime. In my home town of al-Zarqa in al-Mansurah numerous conferences were held to promote the Revolution and the 23 July regime. That was until 1967 when everything came tumbling down in front of me.

I believe that even Islamic societies emerged in the aftermath of 1967. During that period I went back to [reading] history, and it was history that led me to the Wafd. Not a single member of my family had been a member of the Wafd party. In fact, my grandfather had been a member of the Muslim Brothers. I discovered in my reading of history that each party had made mistakes but that the Wafd party

had made the least mistakes and had done the best work. It was for that reason that my emotional relationship with the Wafd began.

By 1976 the three platforms had been established, and I had returned from abroad after a term of employment in Iraq. I joined the Liberal Party because of its liberal approach. Four months later I discovered that there was a controversy in the party that was exactly like that which is happening in the Wafd Party now. The controversy was between two factions: a liberal one and a religious one. Young members of the Liberal Party decided to meet with Fu'ad Siraj al-Din. It was then that my relationship with him began, and it was from that date in 1976 that my activities with the Wafd began. This means that it was history that directed me to the Wafd Party, and it was Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din that made my involvement with the party a certainty.

We talked at that meeting, and I expressed the hope that the Wafd Party would return once again to the political scene. Fu'ad Siraj al-Din was extremely non-committal about that, and he asked me how I would envision the new party. I told him my views of such a party as a young man, and I offered to be one of the first to join the party. I stayed in contact with him from that time until the New Wafd Party was established in 1978. In other words, I've been in touch with the power of the Wafd Party ever since 1976.

[Question] Frankly, what are the reasons that impelled you to give up on the party after such a lengthy association with it?

[Answer] First of all I would like to say that I am an amateur and not a professional politician. I can say that I was one of the closest people to Fu'ad Siraj al-Din. To this day I still have a great deal of respect for the old and the new leaders of the Wafd.

The reasons for my departure from the Wafd can only be explained with the publication of my book, "Al-Wafd wa al-Mustaqbal" [The Wafd and the Future]. That book is the real reason, among others, why I submitted my resignation. When my book was published, the Wafd had not yet been restored. I had shown the book in its entirety to Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, and he had approved of it completely. He approved of its content even though he did make simple remarks about its tone but not about its content. Those remarks were made in connection with the chapter on the Wafd and the future and particularly that section which dealt with Islamic societies. Evidence for this lies in the fact that he personally contacted Dr Ibrahim 'Abduh to facilitate the printing of the book. He took 500 copies of the book, autographed them, dedicated them and distributed them in person to young people. He was very happy with the publication of the book. Anything that was written about the Wafd was considered a credit to him.

Then the Wafd appeared on the political scene, and its appearance was based on an equation: an old generation that privately believed in the unwritten or unformulated principles of the party and publicly professed faith in the formula of the Wafd's leaders. That was the old guard.

But there was a new generation looking for a role to play. They saw in the Wafd a part of Egyptian history, and they emphasized their identification with that history and with its great leaders like Sa'd Zaghlul and Mustafa al-Nahhas.

The present makeup of the Wafd is more like that of a front than a party. There is a principal trend in the center; a religious trend led by al-Shaykh Salah-al-Din Isma'il to the right; and a trend led by Dr Muhammad Anis to the left. That creates balance in the party.

The principal trend was represented by the old guard and a few young professors of law such as Dr Nu'man and Dr Hashish.

After the book, "Al-Wafd wa al-Mustaqbal" came out, that balance was upset. A religious trend developed within the party opposite a secular trend. I am claiming to be one of those representing that trend. That is why attacks and critical remarks from that trend which is represented by al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il began. Specifically, the attacks and critical remarks were about the point of separating religion from the state. I have no personal relationship whatsoever with al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il who began asking the party to proclaim its position on the book.

I was then surprised when the president of the party stated in a newspaper interview that what Faraj Fudah had written in his book did not represent the opinion of the party and that it represented the author's personal opinion only. The tone of the interview was sharp and its emotional context gave the sense that that book was alien to the Wafd. I was stunned by the vehemence of the tone of the interview.

During that period I published an article that contained an attack on Nasirists; it was in response to the Nasirists' attack on the Wafd. I was surprised with a campaign against that article within the Wafd Party. The rationale of that campaign deserves an assessment. The leaders of the party did not wish to become involved in disputes with certain political trends before the elections. The president of the party had asked party members not to publish articles in any newspapers before checking with him first. Thus I felt that participation in the election will have a considerable effect on the course of the party and on its thoughts and positions because every idea, every interview, every discussion or every movement will be influenced by the polls.

I also felt that the climate in the Wafd Party was no longer what it used to be. The party was full of new faces that we had not seen before, particularly when circumstances were difficult. The aim of these new faces was to attack all the leaders and all those who were speaking up at a time when speaking up was taken against the person who spoke up and impaired his interests. The Wafd Party was full of opportunists. The attacks were repeated with Kamal Khalid, with Ibrahim Tal'at and with many others. The number of people who, according to Ibrahim Tal'at, "scurry and vanish when conditions are scary and come out of the woodwork when they want something" grew.

This is the climate in which I submitted my resignation. But the real reasons for my resignation began when a query appeared in a national newspaper asking al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il why he had joined the Wafd Party despite the fact that Dr Faraj Fudah had attacked Islam and distorted Islamic law in his book.

I believe that that question was interposed for ulterior motives. I considered responding to that question by stating that my book contained no attack on Islam

or on Islamic law. However, al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il's response was vehement, and it had nothing to do with the principles of the Wafd Party. He said that the Wafd had never been a secular party and that the party proclaimed the slogans of the Muslim Brothers. In the same response he hinted that I did not belong to the upper echelons of the party and that I did not speak for the Wafd Party.

Then the situation became more complicated when I noticed that leaders of the Muslim Brothers were joining al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il. These were men like Fikri al-Jazzar and Hasan al-Jamal. I asked Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din himself what the position of the Wafd Party was, and he told me that the party would adhere only to those rules that are approved by Wafd's highest board. That response was reassuring.

Then I learned that al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il had sent replies to some newspapers, and I was faced with two choices. I could either abide by the instructions of the president of the party and remain silent or respond to al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il and spare the president of the party any embarrassment by offering to resign. I would then present the matter as an intellectual question whose gist was whether or not there was to be a Wafd Party.

I chose the second alternative. I sent a reply to the newspapers, and I submitted my resignation.

Along with this situation I knew for certain that there was an alliance between the Wafd and the Muslim Brothers. To put it more correctly, there was an alliance between Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din and 'Umar al-Talmasani. Al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il was always declaring that he was the Wafd's emissary to the Muslim Brothers as well as the Muslim Brothers' ambassador to the Wafd. In addition, there were numerous other channels of communication between the two organizations. I was one of the people opposed to that alliance, and that was one of the reasons for my resignation. It was rather the principal reason for my resignation. There were other reasons why I resigned, and I could have lived with them because they can be found in many existing parties.

What matters is that the climate at that time was quite unlike that of the past 7 years, and the reason for that was the election as well as the ambitious desire that goes along with it.

I would like to affirm that my resignation is final despite what is being said about attempts that are being made for my return to the party. It has even been said that the president of the party has announced my return to the party, but that is not true at all.

[Question] These were the reasons for the resignation. But what happened in that special situation regarding the conflict in newspapers between you and al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il?

[Answer] My reply was devoted to the secular character of the Wafd Party, and I cited a book by Mr Ibrahim Faraj, "Dhikrayati al-Siyasiyah" [My Political Memoirs]. In that book Mr Ibrahim Faraj stated that al-Nahhas had met Nehru after the outbreak of the Revolution and that Nehru had told al-Nahhas, "Please, ask the men of the Revolution, who are your friends, to set up a secular state, not a religious state or a military state."

I stated in my article that I hoped al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il would respond to that. Mustafa al-Nahas, as quoted by Mr Ibrahim Faraj, had established that I was right on the issue of secularism.

What al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il said was unexpected. He said that he would not deign to respond to my article and that he would leave that matter to his nephew, al-Hamzah Di'bis whose reply appeared in the newspaper, AL-NUR. I was surprised by what had been inconceivable. The gist of the reply was that the question I had raised was nonsensical and that the reply to it was simple because Ibrahim Faraj was not a Muslim and that a statement given in testimony was a matter of preponderance. He said the testimony of a non-Muslim was unacceptable and, therefore, the testimony of Ibrahim Faraj was unacceptable.

What is this? What do they want after that? How could we develop such a climate? Where is the history of the Wafd? What happened to those times when Wisa Wasif was the speaker of the Council of Representatives? Where is the grandeur of al-Azhar's Sa'd Pasha? That is history, and this is the new reality!

[Question] What do you think of the new declaration on secularism that was issued by the Wafd Party?

[Answer] Actually, I did not understand it. It came out of a sense that those who envisioned it had: they had the sense that either they were extremely intelligent or the Egyptian people were extremely stupid. I believe that this will recur many times because the Wafd Party is trying to appease those who are religious by refusing to separate religion from the state, and at the same time it is trying to appease those who are calling for a secular state.

The Wafd Party is trying to assure those who support the application of Islamic law by announcing its support for Article Two of the Constitution. It is trying to appease those who oppose the application of Islamic law by saying that it will not be applied. Ultimately, the question remains: what did the declaration say?

It is certain that the declaration is a historical statement that draws a clear line between the old Wafd and the New Wafd. The New Wafd has become a brand new party indeed!

[Question] Do you expect more dissension within the Wafd Party?

[Answer] It is certain that the Muslim Brothers will cause considerable dissension within the party. That will happen after the election because the Muslim Brothers will then ask for the application of Islamic law. At that time statements issued by the party such as those that are being issued now will be futile. There will also be considerable dissension after the election lists are announced.

[Question] Does your departure from the party mean that you will no longer be involved in political activity?

[Answer] Quite the contrary. We are in the process of forming a new party for which we've chosen the name, al-Mustaqbal [the Future]. This party will strike the right chord that the present generation of people under 50 have been looking for. That generation represents 70 percent of Egyptians who make up the silent



majority. This is a generation that has not mortgaged itself to history and accordingly is not held captive by the experiences of al-Sadat's or 'Abd-al-Nasir's administrations or by the experiences of pre-revolutionary governments. These were episodes in Egypt's history; they are part of the past and not of the future.

This party will be one that believes in democracy within the party first. This is what we have been lacking in the New Wafd Party or in any other party. I had expected the Wafd Party to change from being the party of a leader who has ideas to a party of ideas that lead. But this did not happen.

One of the principles of al-Mustaqbal Party is the unequivocal demand for the separation of religion and the state. Even if that were to cost the party many supporters, it is enough that the party will be striking a true chord. It is a party that has in its platform the humanity of individuals as a principal objective. It speaks for 3 million Egyptians abroad who have no one reaching out to them, not even with support.

The party will adopt the course of partial solutions in its economic policy. It seems to me that this is a civilized course that all the countries of western Europe have adopted. What is curious is that parties in Egypt are being asked to classify themselves from the beginning as rightist or leftist. There is no general political course that can solve all problems. It is only extremist left-wing parties that have complete theories. A theory of partial solutions, however, assumes that there is a different solution to each problem. One may propose a rightist solution for the education problem and a leftist solution for another problem.

[Question] But you did join the Wafd Party even though the leader of the party declared that economic liberalism was one of the party's principles.

[Answer] I found it difficult to find fault with Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din's expression of economic liberalism. A majority party cannot adopt a free economy, and the Wafd Party is full of leaders who are economists and who formulate economic thought. I and a number of members of the Wafd proposed the idea that the fact that there are [such] leaders in the party does not preclude another opinion from being taken into consideration.

[Question] You set forth some ideas in your book, which is an expression of the Wafd Party since, as you said, it had the blessings of the party leader. These ideas need some clarification, such as those that you stated about the bad blood between the Wafd and the July Revolution, Arab nationalism and other ideas.

[Answer] I asked the Wafd in my book to give up on the idea of the bad blood that exists between the party and the Revolution. It is indisputable that there are reasons for that bad blood because the Revolution took vengeful measures against the Wafd. However, there are careful people within the party who are asking that this bad blood be forgotten. But it is difficult to imagine that forgetting the bad blood would be easy or that the old guard would ignore their desire for vengeance. Even those of them who were not hurt still see the July Revolution as having done significant damage to the question of democracy. By comparison, from my own personal point of view, the word, revenge, means the elimination of any anti-democratic laws.

As far as Arab nationalism is concerned, our new party is calling for Arab unity, provided that such unity be one between democratic regimes in the Arab world and provided that the unity of the Nile Valley be the first step that leads to Arab unity.

As far as the question of peace is concerned, we think that Egypt is one of a few countries that for some time will have no problems with border regions. We have borders with Libya, Sudan and Israel with which we have a peace treaty. We will continue to have peace with Israel which we will call the "peace of hatred" but which no one can overcome. Therefore, we are trying to adopt the notion of development through peace. That means most of our resources would be turned to development and not to arms.

[Question] Do you wish to say anything else?

[Answer] Not much. The fact is there is considerable confusion on the political scene in Egypt. There is so much confusion that politicians are talking about religion and clergymen are talking about politics! The six parties are now using the issue of Islamic law. Even the Wafd Party which was founded on democracy had al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il in its ranks. He is the man who publicly supports terrorism. That came out in his testimony in al-Jihad case when he said, "The killing of al-Sadat was permissible." Al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il is calling for the application of Islamic law which advocates the renunciation of worldly pleasures. But at a time when there was a shortage of telephone lines, al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il got five telephone lines with distinguished numbers, and these are listed in the official directory. This was at a time when the domestic Alexandria airline company went out of business because it was not able to get a single telephone line! However, this means that the principle of getting things to which one is not entitled exists. Does this constitute humility and the renunciation of worldly goods? However, God gives abundantly to those He favors!

#### Secular State Condemned

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3102, 23 Mar 84 pp 16-17

[Interview with al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il by Mustafa Bakri]

[Text] "I scorn those who speak of a secular state, and I despise those who advocate it."

"If the fact that the Muslim Brothers chose the Wafd has antagonised everyone, so be it!"

AL-MUSAWWAR interviewed al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il, the spokesman for the Wafd Party in the People's Assembly at his home in al-Duqqi.

[Question] There is a dispute between you and Dr Faraj Fudah over the question of Islamic law and the unequivocal adoption of that question by the Wafd Party and the party's total rejection of the subject of a secular state. Can you shed some light on the implications of that dispute?

[Answer] First of all, I refuse to talk about a secular state and its proponents

who, I think, are beneath contempt. I have nothing but disdain and contempt for such people.

[Question] Faraj Fudah and others think that that constitutes a departure from the principles of the Wafd and a fundamental threat to national unity.

[Answer] Listen, non-Muslims got their full religious rights. Under Islam they kept their places of worship and their sacrosanct objects. They themselves will attest to that. However, those who are calling for a secular state are agents for colonialism which wants to deal a blow to the relationship between the state and religion.

[Question] Tell me, what are the most important points contained in Siraj-al-Din's declaration on that question in particular?

[Answer] I thank God that the Wafd Party declared war [against] the secular state last Sunday, March 11. The declaration was consistent with that.

[Question] What was meant by the theocracy which the declaration of the Wafd rejected?

[Answer] There isn't in Islam, according to the holy law, a religious position that would give the person in that position a certain status in government. This is what is meant by a theocracy. None of these terms was inspired by God.

[Question] How then would you respond to the statements of Dr Faraj Fudah? Dr Fudah declared that the Wafd had given up its historical and intellectual heritage in the question of religion and the state.

[Answer] The Wafd Party was founded in 1919 on the basis of resisting the British occupation. Egyptian Muslims and Copts took part in that resistance. Al-Nahhas Pasha took over the party after Sa'd Zaghlul and because of political conditions he was able to find the flexibility that enabled him to do one thing and its opposite. We may recall the statement he made in the Council of Representatives. Al-Nahhas said in that statement, "Honorable representatives, I signed the 1936 treaty for Egypt's sake, and today for Egypt's sake I ask you to abrogate it."

I am asking those people who are protective of the Wafd's heritage to do two things:

--I am asking them to make their protectiveness of Islam as strong as their protectiveness of the Wafd and even stronger.

--I am asking them to point out to me this alleged conflict that the Wafd will be subjected to if it adopts the question of Islam.

[Question] What would you say about the statements that al-Nahhas made regarding a secular state?

[Answer] Al-Nahhas said this, and Nehru said that; and God said this and the prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, said that! If they all agree, there is no problem; if they do not agree, then God prevails. God is Great!

[Question] Dr Faraj Fudah said that we respect all articles of the constitution but that the constitution was not sacred and that it could be amended.

[Answer] Those who are calling for an amendment to the constitution must have their own rationale: they are looking for something better. However, amending the constitution in a way that would set them back is the logic of monkeys!

[Question] Dr Fudah says that his basic premise is the fear for national unity.

[Answer] I can think of nothing more eloquent than the statement made by Archbishop Shinuda when he laid the cornerstone for St Mark Hospital. On that day he said, "The only time non-Muslims enjoyed their full rights was when government in Islam flourished." Let them read history and study the Koran and the Tradition of the Prophet, and then if they are truthful, they will tell us about that.

[Question] I am asking for a persuasive response to what Dr Fudah said.

[Answer] What Dr Fudah said was an invitation to destroy the Wafd, not to build it up or keep it going. A party that opposes amending Article Two of the Constitution is a doomed party because it is an agent for godlessness and colonialism.

[Question] It was the ideological change in the Wafd that stirred up such storms. The Wafd adopted an unequivocal position, and this is the secret, is it not, for your choosing the Wafd after having deliberated with its leaders?

[Answer] If the fact that the Muslim Brothers chose the Wafd antagonised everyone, so be it.

[Question] But that position has had its drawbacks among Christians who are members of the Wafd and who make up a principal force within the organization of the party.

[Answer] So be it. The Wafd is still a party that is very popular, and it is normal that it would be the object of envy.

#### Suspended Activities Explained

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3102, 23 Mar 84 pp 17-19

[Interview with Ibrahim Tal'at]

[Text] Ibrahim Tal'at tells AL-MUSAWWAR why he suspended his activities in the New Wafd Party and why he disagreed with Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din.

The problem of those who claim to be Wafdis or new Wafdis is the fact that they think they will rule tomorrow.

Muslim Brothers think of the Wafd as a new vehicle, and they see themselves as the new passengers on that vehicle.

The name of Ibrahim Tal'at is one that for over 50 years has never been missing from the national movement. Mr Tal'at spent most of these 50 years in prison. He was arrested for the first time in 1933, and the last time was in 1981. Between those two dates he was arrested 32 times, and he was held in various Egyptian prisons. He was one of the leaders of the old party as well as the New Wafd Party. He joined the Wafd in 1947, and he imparted to the party, along with young party members, [a sense of] movement and change, thereby becoming one of its leading figures. Therefore, news of the suspension of his activities in the Wafd Party, when he was the one who fought for the restoration of the party, was a blow to old members of the Wafd, and it raised new questions about what was going on.

For the first time Ibrahim Tal'at tells AL-MUSAWWAR the real reasons that impelled him to make that painful decision against himself.

[Answer] I joined the Wafd Party in 1947 when the party was in its worst shape. No one in Egypt imagined that the Wafd would return to power or that al-Nahhas would become prime minister or would even be appointed minister in Egypt. That was until 1950 when the election was held. My original district was that of al-Hadrah, but I decided to run in the district of Karmuz which was held by the Constitutional Liberal Party. In that district I ran against Mustafa al-Maraghi who was the cousin of the governor of Alexandria at the time. I left my district to 'Abd-al-Fattah al-Tawil Pasha who had always served as minister of justice in Wafd cabinets. We actually won, and we went to the Council of Representatives. Nevertheless, I was a strong believer in democracy. In many cases I would stand with the opposition in the Council of Representatives against the government of the party I represented. In fact, in one of my speeches I declared that I would not proclaim loyalty to the king. I was one of two people who would always say no to Fua'd Siraj-al-Din Pasha if the occasion called for that.

Then the Revolution broke out, and everyone who had been with the pasha fled. I, however, stood by his side despite my close friendship with the late President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. Our friendship goes back to our childhood when we were 5 years old. We had grown up together. Although I was one of three people who drafted the Agrarian Reform Law, I refused to become a minister, and that was when I was still an ambitious man. I chose to stand by Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, and I even tried to effect a reconciliation between him and the men of the Revolution in 1952. We held a meeting for them in the home of 'Isa Siraj-al-Din in al-Zaytun. That meeting was attended by President 'Abd-al-Nasir, Salah Salim, Ahmad Shawqi, Fu'ad Pasha, Ahmad Abu al-Fath and myself. On that day I was furious with Salah Salim when he addressed the pasha in a manner I did not like, and I asked the late president 'Abd-al-Nasir, may God have mercy on his soul, to chair the meeting.

I've spoken at length by way of an introduction to explain my real relationship with Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din. I paid a dear price for standing by him all the way. That position led me to prison despite my close friendship with 'Abd-al-Nasir, a man who really understood the nature of the Egyptian people.

[Question] But why did you take that position? Was it your loyalty to the Wafd?

[Editor's note]: He paused briefly and then said with regret:

[Answer] You can say it was the chivalry of the Middle Ages.

[Editor's note]: We stopped talking about his memories, and we began talking about the present situation.

[Answer] Everyone knows how the Wafd was restored and how its activities were suspended. Everyone knows about the struggle in the courts, and everyone knows that many people like al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il fled the party until maneuvers for the restoration of the party were begun. Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din Pasha went back to his old self which is contrary to mine. He is a man of maneuvers and concessions. I gradually felt that that man was not to be trusted, and these were the reasons why I felt this way.

Before that celebration in which he gave a speech on the anniversary of Sa'd Pasha and Mustafa al-Nahas, I reminded him that he had been barred from politics and that he should not deliver that speech because the penalty in that case would be up to 15 years imprisonment. But he did in fact deliver the speech. He wanted us to believe that he was prepared to go to prison when it was obvious that certain moves and agreements had been made that he did not tell us about and that we knew nothing about.

Early when the party was being formed, I suggested that the party have a liberal wing and that it should be to the left of the party's right wing. I told him that in the last Wafd government, while negotiations were underway, I had conducted hearings against the Wafd's minister of foreign affairs, Muhammad Salah-al-Din. I was surprised when Muhammad Salah-al-Din offered me the information and the documents that supported my position. When I asked how he could do that when I was attacking him, he said that that would strengthen his position and support him in the negotiations. He said, "My excuse will be that I am being opposed by people in my party."

I asked Siraj-al-Din to change the name of the Wafd to the Arab Wafd to affirm the party's affiliation with Arabs and the party's Arab character. I told him that the law of parties prohibited the existence of confusion among names. I told him there was a party called the Arab Misr Party and that I did not want then to suggest the name, the Arab Wafd Party. Now, however, the time for that has come.

He became very enthusiastic about that, but he did nothing about it.

Then the sequence of events began to be more grave.

### The Lost Democracy

When the highest board for the Wafd was formed, it surprised me that it combined many "whose interpretation he had said it was not in our power to disseminate." The board also included those who were looking for personal glory and power. It were as though they thought the Wafd would assume power the following day. What we were seeing was opportunism. Don't believe that an election was held! Don't believe that there was anything democratic about the formation of the board! There was only Fu'ad Pasha. When the president of the party was being elected, for example, it was said that the pasha should win by acclamation. He refused that, and 'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan was nominated with him for that position. The result, of

course, was that 'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan got one vote. It was that of Fu'ad Siraj al-Din. What games!

In the election for that same board Fu'ad Pasha wrote a list of the names he was suggesting for the board. My name was on that list, but I refused that formula because I would work for the Wafd in any position. I suggested that the name of Mrs Jamilah al-Nahrawi be added. She is one of the leaders of the 1919 Revolution. I had suggested that her name be added to the list to honor her and to honor women and their old struggle. But instead of putting her name on the list, he replaced my name with another. When the pasha distributed the papers, the old members of the Wafd rebelled. That formation was attacked, and the bickering began. So I screamed in their midst and said, "Are we now on easy street that we can begin disagreeing on positions? Are we going back to the early days of Islam when the disagreement between emigrants and supporters produced catastrophic consequences for Islam even to this day? Do you think that you will come back to power now? There is no need for positions. The only road to real action lies with the common people."

Things quietened down at the meeting, and it proceeded as the pasha had wanted it.

I was approached by a journalist from a fraternal Arab country who asked me a set of questions about the restoration of the Wafd. I was under the impression that I was speaking for the Wafd. He asked me about rumors which claim that the United States was behind the restoration of the Wafd. I responded to that by saying that this was not true and that that was a colonialist course such as that which had occurred in the past when it was said that it was the British who restored the Wafd to power. These were biased rumors to discredit the Wafd. He asked me about relations with the United States, and I said that the United States was the reason for the disaster in the Middle East because it was the United States that had interposed Israel in the area. At any rate the interview was a lengthy one. Then the pasha summoned me on an urgent basis, and he asked me not to give any interviews without checking with him first. I declined his request because it did not make sense to me to be approached by a journalist from France and then to ask that journalist before talking to him to wait until I got permission from the pasha.

Then there was an election in one of the vacant districts in Alexandria. A national front of all the parties was formed, and a decision was made to support Abu-al-'Izz al-Hariri, the candidate of the National Grouping Party. That was agreed to with the approval of Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, and we actually began the campaign for the election. I was then taken by surprise when a person called 'Umar Barakat approached me and asked to become the nominee for the Wafd at the request of the president of the party. I wanted to be certain of that so I went to Fu'ad Pasha's home and I asked him more than once to confirm that he was the one who was nominating that person in the name of the Wafd, and he assured me that he was. He even told me, "Godspeed," and he asked me to help Barakat. Because of my commitment to the party and to its decisions I had to support him. I was then flabbergasted when 'Umar Barakat attacked Abu-al-'Izz al-Hariri personally in more than one location. That was done instead of putting out honest publicity for the election. I know al-Hariri: he is a patriot. It doesn't matter whether he is a leftist or a rightist. What matters to me is his patriotism. He is a fellow



fighter, and he is a prison mate. I rejected that method, and I refused to help Barakat.

The normal result of that was that it was taken against us that we had violated the national front agreement. Even Abu-al-'Izz al-Hariri wrote a campaign slogan which stated that riding one's lame donkey--he was referring to the National Front--was better than asking the wicked a favor. Of course, we all know who the wicked is!

Objectionable methods in the election campaign were set in motion. I was surprised to hear the voters complaining that they were being asked to contribute funds. The drive for funds was headed by Muhammad 'Id. I met with 'Id and I asked him, "Since when does the party pay the candidates' expenses?" In all elections the party has gone through, the party has taken funds from candidates, not given them funds. A candidate pays at least 10,000 pounds, except for penniless candidates like me. I asked him to return the money to those who had paid it or I would inform the prosecution.

'Id did in fact return the money to those who had paid, but that matter came between us. The election was held, and Abu-al-'Izz al-Hariri won. The candidate of the Wafd withdrew after signs of his crushing defeat became evident. Then the president of the party announced that he had not nominated a member of the Wafd but that it was the candidate who had claimed that. To me these word games constituted a blow to national action because the method of "divide and conquer" was used between members of the Wafd. National action was full of problems.

Then there was the crisis that Fu'ad Pasha contrived with Dr Faraj Fudah. And I am saying he contrived it because the pasha himself had published abroad everything that was mentioned in Dr Fudah's book, word for word. He was the one who then denounced the book and stirred up this crisis. I do not like these games, and I reject them. How can he proclaim abroad what he denies in the country?

It was at this point that I paused to re-evaluate my position. Events succeeded each other, and I found that all opportunists and people whose integrity was in question were rushing to join the party that was holding its doors wide open to them.

It was the day after the September resolutions that Mrs Ulfat Kamil said in the People's Assembly that the best decision the president had made was the decision to have that gang arrested. She was cheered then, and she was called Egypt's Thatcher!

Then the Muslim Brothers came. How did that happen? Did they come to believe in the Wafd, and did they take an oath of loyalty to it? Or did they turn the Wafd into a tool they could use to fulfill their own ends?

It was therefore my duty to assume a position. I sent a letter to Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din Pasha telling him that I was suspending my membership in the party and my activities in the party as well. It was not possible to work with a man who was alienating everyone who had a past of struggle and everyone who stood up to him and befriending all those who had always been rejected by the Wafd.



## The Destiny of the Wafd

[Question] In your opinion, what was the reason for the position that the party president took against you, the old members of the Wafd? What is the reason for the alliance with the Muslim Brothers?

[Answer] The alliance with the Muslim Brothers restricts the Muslim Brothers only because, as they themselves declared, they want a party whose lists they can use to run in the elections. To the Muslim Brothers the Wafd is like an empty vehicle they can fill up. According to 'Adil 'Id the Wafd was the closest party to the Muslim Brothers, but they will prevail over the Wafd and the Wafd will disintegrate in their midst and will not benefit in any way.

The answer to the first part of the question is this: vanity and an evil entourage. Some servants became advisers, and Fu'ad Pasha knows who they are.

A wise man in the Abbasid age was once asked, "How did the Umayyad state fall?" The wise man said, "They used to bring their enemies close to them because they were eager to befriend their enemies, and they used to keep their friends away because they were confident of their loyalty. They neither won the friendship of their enemies nor retained the loyalty of their friends." This is what is happening now to the Wafd.

[Question] Were you in agreement with what was stated in the party's platform about economic liberalism?

[Answer] In my opinion what was meant by that was to encourage national capital. However, Wahid Ra'fat approves of having 150,000 millionaires and nothing for the rest of the people.

[Question] What in your view is the future of the Wafd?

[Answer] The remaining old members of the Wafd will leave the party when they discover that they've been victimized by games played by people in the party's top positions. Some will leave the party when they do not find their names on the election lists. And the Muslim Brothers will leave the party after the party is completely disintegrated.

[Question] And you, where do you stand now?

[Answer] I am in the same position I took. I have suspended my activities in the party until the election and the campaign for the election are over.

## The Muslim Brothers and the Wafd

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3102, 23 Mar 84 p 18

[Article]

[Text] Mr Kamal 'Abd-al-Raziq is an attorney. He was a member of the old Wafd Party, and he is a member of the New Wafd Party. He was al-Nahhas Pasha's secretary for a long time. He made this comment about the participation of the Muslim Brothers in the New Wafd Party.

Mr 'Abd-al-Raziq said, "Al-Nahhas Pasha had always refused to let the Muslim Brothers have a wing in the party. He used to say that the Muslim Brothers were entitled to their own party, but that having that party in the Wafd was unacceptable. He had always refused to mix religion and politics. I recall that the late Hasan al-Banna had proposed that the Muslim Brothers have a wing in the Wafd just like the one the Catholic Party had in France. But al-Nahhas Pasha refused. No one had forgotten how Wafdi students were treated by the Muslim Brothers at the university, and no one had forgotten that it was the Muslim Brothers who had supported the Sidqi-Bevin talks.

"No one will forget the guerillas' position at the canal when the 1936 treaty was abrogated. That was in 1951. It is true that a few Muslim Brothers performed well there, but that was something personal. The official position of the Muslim Brothers was stated by al-Shaykh Farghali in Ismailia. He said, "Let Mustafa al-Nahhas pay the price for his thoughtlessness'."

#### Religion and the State Discussed

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3102, 23 Mar 84 pp 19-21

[Interview with Dr Wahid Ra'fat, Vice President of the Party]

[Text] Dr Wahid Ra'fat says, "We cannot repeal all existing laws under the pretext of applying Islamic law."

"I personally refuse to have any one religious group gain control of the party."

"It was not because he was a member of the Muslim Brothers that we accepted al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il in the Wafd."

"A secular state means neither godlessness nor atheism; nevertheless, we rejected it."

"Yes, there are still differences between me and the leaders of the party, but...!"

"We do not agree with the testimony of al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il in al-Jihad case."

"Al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il spoke for the Wafd because there was no one else but him; now there are Mumtaz Nassar and seven others."

With all these conflicting statements and these accusations that were being bandied around, we had to find out what the truth was. We had to go to the highest level of officials in the Wafd Party to look for the truth. In a sumptuous room in a luxurious mansion that used to be owned by Hasan al-Badrawi Pasha and was then turned into offices for the party we met Dr Wahid Ra'fat, the vice president of the Wafd Party.

Our first question to him was as follows:

[Question] The secular state was one of the principles around which controversy arose within the party. The March 11 Declaration was interpreted by various factions with conflicting trends in ways that served their interests: for or against the secular state.

What specifically is the party's position on that matter?

[Answer] This is curious. The declaration was the product of a high-level understanding between the president of the party, its secretary and its vice president. Every word in that document was subjected to very careful scrutiny.

With regard to the position of the Wafd on Islamic law, the party approves of the constitutional amendment which stipulates that Islamic law be the principal source for legislation. This would not preclude deriving laws from other sources as long as these do not conflict with Islamic law. This does not mean that all existing laws would be repealed and replaced by new ones. It means that authorized agencies are to review these laws to see the extent to which they comply with Islamic law. They would discard those laws that contradicted Islamic law and keep those that did not. As far as I know even clergymen concede that in over 1,000 articles of the Civil Code there are only two points that conflict with Islamic law. One has to do with interest, and the other, in the view of some jurists, has to do with an insurance contract. Otherwise, the code is quite consistent with Islamic law. There is nothing curious about that because this code was drafted by a distinguished professor: Dr 'Abd-al-Raziq al-Sanhuri who combined meticulous knowledge of statutes with broad knowledge of the provisions of Islamic law.

With regard to the party's relationship with the Muslim Brothers, the declaration clearly stated that the party was not opposed to Muslim Brothers joining the party as individuals. This is because the party is for everyone, and it does not classify Egyptians according to their religion or their faith as long as they carry out the principles of the party and as long as they work for its objectives in a legal way. That objective is the same one: to give all laws an Islamic character. A response to that has already been made.

With regard to the relationship between religion and the state, this is a problem that was raised a long time ago. Since the time of the pharaohs there were priests who enjoyed positions of prominence in the state, even though they never controlled the state. Also in the Middle Ages whenever there were disputes between the Pope of Rome and temporal kings, the matter always ended with the kings rejecting the authority of the church, even though they were threatened with excommunication. The kings [eventually] liberated themselves from the authority of the church. This then is not the problem of Islam. It is a problem that comes up every time and everywhere.

We reject a secular state whose aim is to separate religion from the state. At the same time we reject a theocracy or a religious state such as that of Khomeyni.

[Question] This is what we want to understand: rejecting the secular state and also the religious state. What then specifically is the form you approve of for the relationship between religion and the state?

[Answer] I believe that this was the point that was not understood in the declaration. Therefore, we must first understand what is meant by the word, secularism. Jurists explain that term by saying that it refers to a state wherein religion and the state are separate. This is what happened in France in 1905. It means that the state would not interfere in the business of the clergy, nor would it support them financially. It means the state would not establish religious schools or things like that. A secular state does not mean godlessness or renunciation of religion, as is the case in the Soviet Union where religion is considered the opiate of the people. A secular state is one in which religion and the state are separate, as is the case in France, where Christianity is the religion of the majority. But all religions in France are sacred and are respected. The state protects all religious services, but it does not interfere in religious affairs because religion, if one may say so, comes under the domain of the private sector and not the public sector. The other form of a secular state is that of Mustafa Kamal in Turkey which was the source and the location of the caliphate. However, Mustafa Kamal changed the relationship between religion and the state. He made the state a temporal entity in the sense that it ceased to be a religious state headed by a caliph who appointed the clergy or interfered with their education. Mustafa Kamal left those things to the Muslims themselves.

Egypt is one of those countries where religion and the state are not separate. Ever since the Islamic conquest in the 7th Century A.D. Islam has been the religion of the majority. The ruler--the president now--is the one who appoints the clergy, and he is the patron of religious precepts and religious affairs because the state regards religion as a public institution or, in economic jargon, it is part of the public sector.

This is what the separation of religion and the state means, and it is this that we reject. We do approve, however, of the present Egyptian formula; it is one in which the state serves as the patron of religion. We are not asking the state to take its hands off religion, but we are rather asking it to be the patron for all religions. The state must have a hand in the appointment of clergymen and such matters.

[Question] Why then was there a dispute between Dr Faraj Fudah and al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il?

[Answer] To tell you the truth I have not read Dr Faraj Fudah's book. But it seems that he is defending the idea of a secular state. He wants to say that the Wafd was a secular party, and he argues that Mustafa al-Nahhas, may God have mercy on his soul, refused to have the king crowned in al-Azhar and that he told al-Shaykh Hasan al-Banna, "Keep yourself to religion. I do not want you to be an adversary." But the fact of the matter is that we do not want a secular state in the sense of separating religion from the state. But we did not want religion to control the state. We refused to have al-Shaykh al-Maraghi controlling the state and giving the king directions. Therefore, we rejected a religious coronation for the king because that would have been unconstitutional. Our constitution requires that the oath of office be taken in parliament. But there were those who wanted to ascribe to that event some kind of succession, and this is another matter.

[Question] Why then did Dr Fudah leave the Wafd Party?

[Answer] Because he announced his resignation in all the newspapers before submitting it to the highest board. Although no one had asked him to resign, his resignation was accepted.

[Question] But he submitted his resignation so he could respond to al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il, and [he did that] to spare the president of the party any embarrassment. The president of the party had asked him not to reply.

[Answer] The truth about al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il is that he is a recognized figure. We did accept him in the party but not because he represents the Muslim Brothers. Nevertheless, he is in fact, as Fu'ad Siraj al-Din has said, our representative with the Muslim Brothers, and he is the Muslim Brothers' representative in our party. However, we do not want any religious society to control the party. The Muslim Brothers do not join the party with the intention of controlling it. I do not think this is what they want because the party is a political party, and they are a religious society.

[Question] However, the statements they have been making in newspapers state that they are joining the Wafd because they want to take part in the elections. That is an expression of a political objective and not a religious objective.

[Answer] Their political objectives are theirs. We refuse to be controlled by anyone. The party is an old party that dates back to 1919, and the law of parties is unequivocal. It states that parties may not be established on religious principles. Therefore, the only outlet they found for themselves was to join the party and commit themselves to its principles. They are bound by that, and they cannot impose their will on a party. We accepted them into the party as individuals and not as a group.

[Question] But how was that alliance forged between you and the Muslim Brothers despite the historical legacy and the lengthy dispute that exists between the two organizations?

[Answer] Let me repeat that the Muslim Brothers did not join the party as a group. They joined the party as individuals who committed themselves to the party's principles and platform.

[Question] But what about the statements that were made by the Muslim Brothers on Islamic law? What about what al-Hamzah Di'bis stated in his article in response to the statement by Ibrahim Faraj that Dr Faraj Fudah cited? Doesn't this have an effect on national unity?

[Answer] We are concerned about national unity and about what al-Hamzah Di'bis stated regarding the testimony of a non-Muslim being unacceptable. In the view of the Muslim Brothers a Christian judge may not issue a judgment on a Muslim, and non-Muslims may neither testify nor hold sway. These are their principles, but the Muslim Brothers do not constitute a majority. As I mentioned, the party accepts members without consideration of their religion or faith. National unity is one of the party's fundamental principles. As for me I did not notice any change as far as Mr Ibrahim Faraj was concerned. In fact, I do not believe he was even annoyed with what happened.

[Question] But those individuals may form a trend [within the party].

[Answer] There are different trends in every party in the world. We are not a religious party; we are rather a political party, and the presence of a religious trend in the party is not one of the party's principles. If the Muslim Brothers joined the party for other objectives, we did not probe those objectives or the secrets they keep in their hearts. Why should we assume that they want to control the party?

[Question] This is something that old members of the Wafd Party are apprehensive about. That is why they suspended their activities in the party. People like Mr Ibrahim Tal'at, for example.

[Answer] No. The story of Ibrahim Tal'at is one of rancor between him and Muhammad 'Id. Each one of them is trying to be a hero. They got angry with each other because each one of them wanted to be the party's reporter in Alexandria. That is a matter of personal rancor between the two.

With regard to al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il, he was speaking for the Wafd Party because there was no one else. Now, however, there are other figures like Mr Muntaz Nassar, for example who has seven or eight persons with him. Thus, the activities can be divided among them: some of them would be involved in religious matters and the others, in legal matters.

The fact of the matter is that I've never considered al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il to be a dangerous person. Quite the contrary, we agree with him. Naturally, he is a man of different tendencies. I am a secular man: I mean, a lay man. We fear two things only: a religious government like that of Khomeyni and a military government like that which can be found in Syria.

When President Eisenhower was elected president of the United States, he got rid of his military uniform. So did President Mubarak. We have not seen him in military uniform since he became president. This is normal.

We do not want a military government headed by a military man, nor do we want a religious government headed by a clergyman.

[Question] What do you think about the fact that some people were accepted in the ranks of the Wafd Party over the objections of old party members because of unacceptable positions these people had assumed in the past? For example, as Ibrahim Tal'at has mentioned, Professor Ulfat Kamil was accepted as a member of the party, and she was the one who stood in the People's Assembly to cheer the decree to arrest what she called "the gang" at the time the well-known September decrees were issued.

[Answer] Unfortunately, we cannot have each individual account for statements he made. Nevertheless, we should have taken more deliberate precautions. Perhaps we didn't because of all the problems we are facing: preparations for the elections, for the party's organizations and for other matters. Nevertheless, I do not wish to mention the name of another member who is with us on the board. But that person's membership is still suspended because he had made a few remarks praising al-Sadat. We may have made a mistake in not being strict about calling

Ulfat Kamil to account for those statements she made. If that is true, we have to reconsider. Our members were not subjected to a litmus test. Nevertheless, she is an ordinary member, and she holds no position of leadership. But all this may be reconsidered in the general assembly.

[Question] And yet, you've called her Mrs Thatcher!

[Answer] Mrs Thatcher is an iron lady. She is a very strong woman, but I think that Mrs Ulfat Kamil's language would have had some effect on Sibawayh!

[Question] We mentioned Mrs Ulfat Kamil by name as an example only.

[Answer] At the present time the party is accepting all applications for membership. However, this does not preclude scrutinizing members in the future.

[Question] Is there really a disagreement between you and the Wafd?

[Answer] There are some differences on various subjects, but they are differences of opinion that do not reach the point of becoming critical. We disagree; we have a discussion; and we ultimately come to an agreement and yield to the decision of the majority.

[Question] Are leaders, as is being said, making unilateral decisions?

[Answer] If I felt they were, I would say goodbye and leave!

[Question] What about what is being said about the appointment of Dr Nu'man secretary of the Wafd Party at the request of al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il?

[Answer] This is not true at all. Al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il does not have such power. He does not have any power. He is merely a member of the highest board and he has one vote, no more and no less. We accepted him as a clergyman just as we would have accepted the late al-Shaykh Faraj al-Sanhuri or al-Shaykh al-Dhahabi had they wanted to join the Wafd.

[Question] But al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il is both a clergyman and a politician at the same time. He is in fact a politician in the People's Assembly and in the Wafd, and he has his own opinions, such as those that came out in his testimony in al-Jihad case.

[Answer] His position in al-Jihad case is not a good position. Condoning murder is unacceptable to us, but we do not confront him with that. He is a man who stood in court and testified. He is the only one responsible for that testimony. He would not dare repeat those extremist statements of his in my presence. As I said, he is merely a member of the party, and he has only one vote.

#### Theocracy, Religious State Rejected

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3102, 23 Mar 84 pp 20, 21

[Interview with Ibrahim Faraj, secretary general of the party by M. B.]



[Text] Ibrahim Faraj, secretary general of the party: "The Muslim Brothers did not entrap the party."

"Dr Faraj Fudah was precipitous in writing statements he should not have written."

"We reject theocracy so as not to become like Khomeyni's Iran."

[Question] Ibrahim Faraj, secretary general of the New Wafd Party, what is the nature of the recent alliances that were formed between you and the Muslim Brothers? Are they tactical alliances that depend on the timing of the elections, or are they strategic alliances that were formed to last a long time and to accomplish specific tasks?

[Answer] One of the principles of the Wafd has been not to make alliances with anybody. Throughout its history the Wafd has represented the national unity of Copts and Muslims in Egypt. That unity is the essence of the party's principles, and it is its greatest achievement. The party also neither believes in nor accepts a religious government such as that which Islamic groups believe in. Therefore, basically there is no alliance.

[Question] This is your point of view. However, I would like to say that an alliance has been formed between you and the Muslim Brothers. Recently, the Muslim Brothers held a secret meeting that was attended by al-Talmasani, al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il and Shams-al-Din al-Shinnawi. Afterwards these people negotiated with Siraj-al-Din, and an alliance was made in return for specific conditions. Foremost among these was the Wafd's rejection of a secular state and its adoption of the demand for Islamic law.

[Answer] The Wafd has been steadfast in its principles. This is the course we have been pursuing. We cannot relinquish an inch of that course. To say that the Muslim Brothers entrapped the Wafd is unacceptable to us. It is something that did not happen.

[Question] The Muslim Brothers also set another condition.

[Answer] What was that?

[Question] It's been said that a large number of Muslim brothers will head the party's lists. [Is that true]?

[Answer] Candidates' names are placed on the party's lists without hesitation from the party. Those lists have to be confined to the names of party members who uphold the party's principles with steadfastness.

[Question] Then you insist on maintaining that the Wafd Party has not undergone any ideological changes?

[Answer] Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din's declaration responded to such statements. In that declaration Siraj-al-Din asserted unequivocally that the matter of considering Islamic law the principal source for legislation in Egypt was not something that the Wafd had made up. It is stipulated in the constitution.



[Question] But the statements that al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il made, and these were discussed by some newspapers, affirm that the problem is greater than that of adhering to a constitutional provision.

[Answer] What does that mean?

[Question] This means that I read statements by al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il which, it's been said, constitute the religious part of the Wafd's platform for the election. That platform has an obvious religious character, and its rejection of a secular state is just as clear as its religious character.

[Answer] The platform for the election will be published soon. Don't believe what is being rumored by some people.

[Question] Then allow me to remind you of what you said in your political memoirs which were prepared recently by Hasanayn Karum.

[Answer] Let's hear it!

[Question] On page 119 you said, "When al-Nahhas Pasha assumed the duties of his ministerial office in February 1942, he issued an order releasing the Muslim Brothers who had been detained by the British. On that day al-Nahhas summoned Hasan al-Banna, the Grand Master of the Muslim Brothers to [a meeting at] the Mena House Hotel. As soon as Hasan al-Banna walked in, al-Nahhas told him, 'I am a Muslim just like you, Hasan. I am a man who knows the rules and principles of religion. You have a right to preach, to guide and to call for values to be respected. But involvement in politics and in games whose purpose is to achieve power is totally unacceptable, and I very strongly prohibit it.'"

[Answer] We refuse to have clergymen control government, but the Egyptian government has for a long time been appointing the Shaykh of al-Azhar, the mufti, the scholars as well as non-Muslim clergymen. This is something that cannot be found in a secular state. We cannot put up with the total separation of religion and the state because we have values, traditions and customs that cannot be cast aside.

[Question] I am not saying abolish those values and traditions, but I am saying that the new alliance formula and the changes that ensued in the party's ideas constitute in effect a turning away from the party's heritage.

[Answer] How is that?

[Question] Do you want another example?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] A statement was made in the book, "Ahmad Husayn" by Dr Rif'at al-Sa'id, and it goes like this: "When Ahmad Husayn went to al-Nahhas Pasha to reconcile with him after the serious disputes they had had, the latter said, as Ahmad Husayn approached al-Nahhas Pasha, 'You are a con artist!' Ahmad Husayn replied, 'No, I'm not!' Al-Nahhas said, 'Didn't you mention the name of God at a political program? Mentioning the name of God in a political program amounts to ingratiating oneself with religion."

[Answer] We reject theocracy which would give clergymen the power to govern as is the case in Iran and elsewhere.

[Question] It seems that you and others are worlds apart on this matter.

[Answer] Others like whom, for example?

[Question] Al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il. He rejects a secular state all the way. Didn't you read the article by al-Hamzah Di'bis in the newspaper, AL-NUR?

[Answer] No.

[Question] He adopts the same point of view that al-Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il is adopting.

[Answer] There is confusion in understanding the term, secular state. I reject a secular state in the sense that I've just explained to you. We reject it because we are committed to true liberalism which we are emphasizing.

[Question] What then are the controls that you've set for removing the conflicts that exist between you on some of the ideas? The subject at hand, for example, is one of those ideas.

[Answer] We are in the process of issuing a clear and specific platform for the election. That platform will dot the i's and cross the t's and define all these matters about which questions are being raised.

[Question] Why then did Faraj Fudah resign? Wasn't that the reason?

[Answer] Faraj Fudah was precipitous in writing statements that he should not have written.

[Question] He said that his basic reasons for resigning from the party were ideological. These reasons may be summarized by saying that in his view the Wafd represented a course in which religion and the state would be separated as a real introduction to national unity. Faraj Fudah thought that what was happening now was radically different from the directives and the heritage of the Wafd.

[Answer] What else did he say?

[Question] He also said that you had mentioned in your book, "Dhikrayati al-Siyasiyah" [My Political Memoirs] that you had attended a meeting between al-Nahhas and Nehru in the home of al-Nahhas and that al-Nahhas told Nehru [sic], and we quote, "Now that the republic has been established, I hope God will grant the military men success so that the republic would be a secular republic. I know you are their friend, and I hope you will tell them that it is a secular, democratic state that will guarantee the reforms they wish to make. I do dislike military dictatorial government."

[Answer] Differences in points of view do not undermine friendship. We support freedom of opinion. We who are on the Wafd's board often object to Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din and his opinions, and we often vote against him.

[Question] What would you say to the rumors about a sharp dispute between you and Siraj-al-Din on who is to be the second man in the party?

It is being said that the Muslim Brothers set a condition that Dr Nu'man Jum'ah be the second man in the party and not you because you are a Copt.

[Answer] This has not happened. I am the one who chose Nu'man Jum'ah, and I have confidence in him. Leaders who would choose such a young man are leaders who are loyal to the party and to its principles.

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JOURNAL RAISES ISSUE OF OLD GOVERNMENT ELECTION FUNDS

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2908, 5 Mar 84 pp 10-13

/Article by Ulfat Sa'd: "The Status of Election Publicity!"

/Text/ People feel that there are elections only when there is "turmoil," crowds, signs, sudden "visits" by candidates, cars carrying their pictures and horns repeating their names in a rapid, harmonious beat!

People became accustomed to this picture in the days when candidacy in elections was on an individual basis.

Now candidacy for elections is on the basis of party lists. Will the publicity be different? How will the financing of each party be done? Is it true that the National Party will use government resources on publicity for its candidates?

What, then, is the fate of the law which sets the maximum spending on publicity at 500 pounds? Is the sum adequate?

When we asked Fathi Radwan, who made a substantial contribution to party life before the revolution and following the return of the parties, about the method of election publicity before the revolution, he said "Financing was not a problem. Our political life was just beginning, and the methods of publicity were primitive. Walls and fences were open. It was very easy to attract people around a candidate and many candidates lacked political awareness. Candidates did not need more than an open canopy and a few chairs. The government party always won. Therefore parliament turned into a citadel. The custom was that the other parties would boycott the elections if the ruling party held them and if it was a party cabinet the minority parties would boycott that.

"Therefore the picture of Egyptian parliament in the period between 1922 and 1952 was either a Wafdist majority or a majority of combined minority parties.

"Election campaigns constituted recreation, noise and a release from repressed activity. I remember that I ran as a candidate from the district of Heliopolis in 1944, and the king and the British opposed my candidacy

because I was a lawyer for the /Moslem/ Brothers. Taha al-Siba'i ran as an opponent of mine and I entered the campaign. I can remember that the government brought people from upper Egypt and in order to make them remember the name Taha al-Siba'i connected the name al-Siba'i with the word 'al-isba', so that the voters would say 'al-saba'i.' When the voters cast their vote orally, in the ear of the representative, so that no one would hear, they shouted in his ear to indicate their support for al-Saba'i in order to be assured of a payment.

"Thus Taha al-Siba'i won.

"However, in the countryside and in Upper Egypt, the publicity was exorbitant because the candidate had the influence and the money to hold banquets, give feasts and win over people's hearts.

"The fact is that the 'kind' of food greatly influenced the results of the elections, as well as the secret expenditures."

Dr Muhammad 'Asfur justifies the importance of "clannishness" in the elections: family clannishness is the basis and the extension of the old tribal system. The pillar of the Wafd Party, for instance, was the great families. There was another tendency, that the great families should distribute their children among the parties. One person in one of the famous families that still exist was in the Liberal Constitutionalists, while another was in the Sa'dist Party, the third in the Wafd and the fourth in the /Moslem/Brothers! Thus the family guaranteed representation in all cabinets, in a manner that would protect its interests.

In spite of the change the July revolution brought about, family clannishness was not eliminated by the social transformation which occurred as a result of the agrarian reform laws.

This clannishness was perhaps most noticeable in the elections held as a form of sympathy or compensation; the strange thing is that the current system of party lists has helped bring back the tribal system!

Inapplicable!

Dr Wahid Ra'fat, the vice chairman of the New Wafd Party: How does the party organize its publicity, and what is the parties' opinion regarding the laws on publicity and the financing of publicity?

/He said/ "Before the revolution, there were no laws regulating electoral publicity; the situation was left up to the public law, and if calumny or libel resulted from parties during the elections, the parties would be tried in accordance with public law, and the excesses that occurred among candidates would be subject to evaluation by the courts. During election campaigns disputes would reach the point where people committed murder, which indicates how backward we were at that time, because we are now more mature, thanks to the media.

"In the material sense, some candidates were compelled to sell their land in order to make election expenditures as with the revolution and the socialist decrees, it became inevitable that the various forms of spending on elections would be subjected to oversight.

"Before I speak about party publicity, I would like to point out that some laws were issued recently regulating publicity, including Law 194 for specifying that political parties and all candidates for membership in the People's Assembly should commit themselves with respect to election publicity to the principles which the people agreed to in the April 1979 referendum as regards the peace treaty and the government reorganization. The purpose in that was that the parties should not get into the subject of the treaty. Then it stipulated that the parties should commit themselves to the principles stipulated in Law 33 for 1978 regarding the protection of the domestic front.

"This stipulation prohibits any publicity whose goal is to oppose the principles on which the July and May revolutions were based. In addition to that, this law requires that parties and candidates observe the rules issued by decree of the minister of the interior on the execution of this law. This decree, which exists up to now, prohibits election publicity from including any phrases or modes of expression which entail an appeal to scorn, condemn or reject the principles which the people agreed upon in the peace treaty.

"The law also stipulates that the election publicity costs are not to exceed 500 pounds in the case of all candidates. It should be noted that these rules were set out in a previous electoral framework which was founded on individual elections and they are now founded on election by lists. For this reason they are inapplicable.

"Concerning the Wafd Party's election campaign, that will not violate constitutional legitimacy. The focal point of the publicity is the party's program, in addition to emphasis on the requirements of the various regions. As far as the party's money goes, only the party itself obtains that, through contributions. Of those, 50,000 pounds have been spent on the party headquarters, whose furnishing will require a quarter of a million pounds. We have had 30,000 pounds frozen."

Who Is Overseeing It?

He raised a question: what is the method for overseeing electoral publicity? Can we tabulate the details of the spending of publicity money?

Dr Hilmi Murad, vice chairman of the Labor Party, says, "The purpose in limiting publicity expenses was so that people with fortunes could not influence public opinion through their money; 500 pounds was set as a maximum, but that stipulation has not been applied in practice, since it is possible to evade the literal interpretation of the stipulation, although some of this money is in the form of contributions from supporters and at the same

time it is a weapon that can be used against successful opposition candidates in contesting their election. The limit on the amount now has no meaning, because candidacy is now through lists. Thus it is considered appropriate that the money each party spends on the election campaign be limited.

"Concerning Labor Party publicity and financing, the party will collect contributions from members and supporters, not to mention the amount that it is entitled to from the Socialist Union building. We need at least half a million pounds to cover the election campaign."

One of the most important points the opposition bases itself on in confronting the National Party is the government's failure to separate itself from the party and its recourse to the government's material and moral resources.

Mustafa Kamil Murad, chairman of the Liberal Party, says,

"The National Party controls the three nationwide papers and the weekly magazines, as well as its own paper, and this is an influential media force. Meanwhile, the opposition parties issue only three weekly papers, whose distribution does not exceed 350,000 copies a week. The lack of balance and the presence of media anomalies are clear from this.

"If we add the administrative imbalance, in the sense that all the governors, mayors and village heads belong to the National Party by virtue of their positions, as do the members of the local assemblies, since the opposition parties boycotted the Consultative Assembly elections in 1983, because of their rejection of the absolute lists, that all adds up to an influential force in Egyptian public opinion as a result of the connection between the masses' interests and the local government authorities, which the National Party controls.

"In our publicity, we have the weapon of confronting the errors and negative points of the party and the government, explaining these to the people at people's conferences, recommending solutions to their problems, and explaining the extent to which the government has stumbled in its policies and declarations and its flimsy record regarding the increase in prices.

"One of the most serious problems facing the party is financial resources. It relies on dues and donations. As for subsidies, they just go for newsprint. Therefore, we will demand our right to the reserves of the Socialist Federation building, which exceed 4 million pounds a year."

#### 500 Pounds Are Enough

To round out the views, Lutfi Wakid, secretary of the Grouping Party, spoke about the financing of the election campaign:

"So far the Grouping has only 22,000 pounds which were accumulated when we opened the gate to subscriptions. We need at least 100,000 pounds to prepare for the elections. However, financing was never an obstacle. Publicity



among the people does not need money so much as competence. When AL-AHALI was suspended in 1978, the party continued to publish its views any way it could. Therefore it is possible for the members of the party to write banners, hang them and distribute them without resorting to designers and distributors.

"As regards the buying of votes, the Grouping Party cannot do that, because it does not embrace the policy on making promises and offering blandishments to people who want support.

"On the principle of setting 500 pounds for election publicity per candidate, that is enough, but I wonder how the government can calculate the candidates' election expenditures!"

#### Feeding the Delegate

In spite of the great difference between the National Party and the opposition parties, there are points of concurrence which Hasan Rafiz, member of the People's Assembly for the National Party, stresses regarding election publicity and financing. He says,

"Five hundred pounds per candidate is no longer enough because each law has its own time and circumstances, and these circumstances have come to an end. Prices have also risen in a manner where this amount, which is spent on transporting candidates, printing and information delegates, is not suitable, and it is necessary to ask that this section of the law be abrogated.

"While the exercise of publicity in elections by lists differs from elections by individuals, individual election districts lie within the radius of large districts on the list. However, the problem is, how can harmony be created among the small districts within the large ones?

"As regards the oversight of publicity funds, there are people who waste money attracting people and buying votes when the voters pass the worst judgment on them. This is the greatest form of oversight, because people can clearly distinguish between those who spend lavishly just to win and those who spend to realize the interests of the masses.

"Spending, here, is a duty, and the people who are the most serious as far as publicity goes, are the delegates for members and heads of committees. A candidate can be honorable and popular, and nonetheless, as soon his delegate goes out to eat a meal, for example, outside the committee, the opposing delegate will seize the opportunity to attract the chairman of the committee, who is rarely dishonest, in order to upset things.

"Therefore it is necessary to provide all the wherewithal for comfort, food and drink for delegates, and that costs a great deal.

"Election campaigns require administrative campaigns, so that the election process may be facilitated--for instance, they need means for going over to the police, the office of the prosecutor and the candidate and providing reserve delegates."



In conclusion, Muhammad Rashwan, minister of state for People's and Consultative Assembly affairs and assembly member, says "In the 1979 elections he observed that candidates spent thousands, although the law prohibits large spending, even though getting into the People's Assembly no longer is a gain for the member who spends 50,000 pounds, since his material earnings from the People's Assembly do not exceed 6,000 pounds!

"Thus, there is a gap which raises questions. Therefore, the law on lists was created to make it hard for individual spending in a large district to have an effect or influence. I believe that the candidate wins not just through spending /but/ through the existence of political awareness. A candidate in my district spent 60,000 pounds on publicity yet did not win.

"The National Party relies on members' dues and contributions. Regarding these, the law stipulates that if they are greater than 500 pounds they should be published in the papers and presented to help candidates who do not have material resources.

"I urge everyone to develop the tendency to give notice on any candidate whose various expenses on publicity are largely excessive." Concerning the sums available to the National Party, Muhammad Rashwan replied that he did not know the amount of the sums prepared for publicity exactly, and that perhaps that could be learned when the elections get closer.

By the way, the conferences the National Party holds in the governorates depend on the money of party members in the National Assembly who prepare and spend on these conferences, and the government has no connection with spending in such cases.

10,000 Pounds for the al-Ummah Party [Box on p 12]

The Consultative Assembly spent the sum of 10,000 pounds to help finance the al-Ummah Party.

Ahmad al-Sabahi, chairman of the party, said that that sum was spent after Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din intervened personally.

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CITIZENS' LOW PROPENSITY TO SAVE, BORROW DESCRIBED

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 23 Feb 84 p 4

/Article by Hasan 'Amir: "A Surprise in the Most Recent Economic Report: Egyptians Do Not Like To Borrow"/

/Text/ Egyptian citizens do not resort to borrowing. Their share of bank loans is limited. They prefer to work as a "society" with neighbors or colleagues at work to finance their sudden needs than to borrow from banks.

The most recent economic report by the Central Bank asserts this in figures.

However, this also raises an important question, which is, why?

Is it because the Egyptian citizen has no financial problems?

Is it the result of religious and social values which do not encourage indebtedness?

Or is it that the vexations the banks impose on people demanding loans cause them to avoid resorting to them?

Three economists analyze the phenomenon.

Figures are a language that is filled with meaning. Some figures are pale and cold, merely accounting sequences, while some figures are deceptive-- they have contradictory interpretations which are capable of supporting an opinion or opposing it.

Other figures are warm and eloquent. They have a special ability to embody social phenomena and represent values and positions.

The figures on loans and development facilities the Central Bank publishes are of the latter type. They are as eloquent as sequential expressions that are prone to being savored, interpreted, interacted with and talked to. They say a lot and summarize a lot.

Through a rapid glance at the statement on loans, you can realize where social forces stand. These forces are at the center of control and command, whether they are merchants or producers, farmers or industrialists, people working in the area of services or owners of real property.

The guidelines for evaluation here are simple. The dominant social forces obtain the greatest amount of loans and facilities.

#### At the Seat of Acknowledgment

The same figures also reflect many social and economic phenomena. They show that the society is backwards in terms of production, since loans to importers have increased. They assert that society is ignoring the countryside, since most loans have been to cities, and they indicate that the society is inundated with consumption, since foreign resources have been used to finance imported goods.

There is no room here to observe all the acknowledgments the figures make.

However, there is one acknowledgment that deserves profound reflection.

That holds that the ordinary Egyptian citizen is great and is entitled to utmost respect and appreciation. His loyalty is unlimited and he does not cease sacrificing himself or expect rewards or praise or even a word of thanks!

All this lies in just two figures.

The first is total deposits.

The second is family or personal loans.

The figure on deposits states that Egyptians' savings are minor. Government employees, laborers and emigres occupy first place in terms of balance of deposits. After them, 10 places lower, come the deposits of public and private sector organizations, merchants, producers and so forth!

Totally to the contrary, figures on family and personal loans state that the main saver does not derive any benefit--he does not borrow and his debts to banks are zero, or in the best of cases an imperceptible margin above zero!

In brief, the ordinary Egyptian is not familiar with debts. He is not proficient at the game of borrowing from banks; rather, he is just proficient at the positive game, that is, savings and deposits!

#### The Testimony of Time

The phenomenon is an old one; it is not recent. The proof is in the Central Bank reports.

In the latest report for 1983, loans to families come to 405.8 million pounds. If we apportion the entire balance among all Egyptians, that is, among 45 million people, the debt per citizen is just 9 pounds.

Abu Bakr 'Abd-al-'Ati, counsellor of the Central Bank, observes that the figure did not change in the course of a whole year. It was 405.3 million pounds in 1982, that is, it increased by just 500,000 pounds, or an average of 5 additional piasters in the balance of each citizen's debt!

However, he goes on: "Total family debts have registered a great rise over 1981, increasing by about 63 million pounds. In spite of the magnitude of the balance, on the average it has added no more than 120 piasters to the size of individual debts!"

In any event, family debts are growing at very normal rates, and do not pay off the increases at each previous stage. For example, they were 195 million pounds in 1975, or an average of 5.5 pounds per citizen, considering that the total population at the time was 35 million.

In 3 years, the balance rose to 266 million, or an average of 7 pounds.

In 1980, the debts of families registered a record figure, totaling 509 million, or an average of 12 pounds per person.

#### Official Borrowing

There is no room here to compare the balance of public and private sector organization loans with the balance of family loans.

The government, for example, is the biggest borrower. Its debts were 13 billion pounds in 1983, or an increase of 1.8 billion pounds over 1982.

The public sector's debts were 2.28 billion pounds in 1982 and increased by 500 million in 1983.

#### The Year of Sorrow

The private sector's debts are double those of the public sector. The balance was 4,815,000,000 in 1983, an increase of 862 million over 1982.

It is well known that 1983 was a year of sorrow for the private sector, because of the restrictions that were imposed on loans and credit facilities.

That year, the private sector was full of talk about the grave recession that was sweeping over the domestic economy.

There is no doubt that its complaints were valid, from its viewpoint, because it received 1,776,000,000 pounds in the form of additional loans and facilities in 1982.

By a comparative measurement, we find that family debts account for 3.3 percent of the government's debts, 8.4 percent of the private sector's debts, and 14.8 percent of the public sector's debts!

### The Ownership of New Deposits

Conversely, family sector deposits increased by 1,141,000,000 pounds in 1983, having been 2,405,000,000 in 1982 and rising to 3,592,000,000 in 1983, an average of 77 pounds in savings per citizen.

This is on top of forced savings in the form of pensions, insurance and so forth.

Total family deposits account for 886 percent of the total loans families obtain. Additional deposits for 1983 alone are about 281 percent of family loans.

On the other hand, we cannot find government deposits!

We also find that total public sector deposits are 1,311,000,000 pounds, a sum that exceeded additional family deposits in 1983 by 170 million pounds.

Private sector deposits are smaller than that. Their balance was 691 million pounds in 1983 and 492 million in 1982.

The size of deposits of financial institutions such as investment companies are ludicrous. They were 68 million pounds in 1982, then dropped to 67 million in 1983.

The report on credit and banking developments from 1976 to 1980 reveals the imbalance which afflicted sources of deposits.

The public sector was the prime saver. Its balance in December 1975 was about 888 million pounds, as compared with 791 million for individuals.

The balance rose to 1,927,000,000 in December 1978, as compared with 1,652,000,000 for individuals.

Up to December 1975, the public sector had the largest share. This then began to retreat in 1980, and the deposits of individuals leapt up, occupying first place.

Private sector deposits stayed within modest limits.

### Idle Talk Is Not Enough

The phenomenon of the Egyptian family and its lack of familiarity with debts drawn the attention of Dr Fu'ad Hashim, former minister of economy, and chairman of the Arab Investment Bank.

He says, "The figures indeed indicate a social phenomenon which has its reasons and roots and is not just a temporary, passing situation.

"I actually represent a family which does not go into debt. My friends are like that. I participated in the management of the Bank of Egypt for a long period and did not observe a propensity on the part of Egyptian families to go into debt. Sometimes the government would offer loans for employees, but they were limited, just 1 or 2 months' wages.

"The truth is that the Egyptian family does not have a propensity toward indebtedness. There is a social system which is an alternative to indebtedness, which assumes a generous, acceptable form, and that is the society. It is an example where debts are exchanged in a generous manner.

"There is no doubt that banks are responsible to some extent. The relationship of the ordinary individual to banks in Egypt is backward, in some people's opinion, or not solid in the opinion of others. Ordinary individuals are not accustomed to borrowing to cover consumer needs. They may borrow in rural areas to finance productive activity, as is the case with farmers in the seasons of cash crops such as cotton, wheat and sugar cane, but I do not know any peasant who has resorted to banks to borrow to meet his own personal needs, in the cases of most extreme illness.

"The Egyptian family at some stage resorted to covering its needs through 'usurers.' Usury existed, though it was limited and detested because it is against religion."

Dr Fu'ad Hashim believes that religious feeling plays a part. Religion does not encourage indebtedness. There is a prophetic tradition which says "Debt at night, and ignominy in the day." There is no doubt that the matter requires deeper social analysis than mere gossip.

#### Kindness to Coming Generations

Dr Fu'ad al-Sarraf, governor of the Faysal Bank, has a totally different view.

He says, "Egyptians have a propensity to borrow, and we are not anxious to lend to them. They bear many burdens and, if we make loans fully available to them, their burdens will exceed their capacity and resources.

"The banks certainly impose numerous limits on personal debts, and in doing so think in the manner of banks. We believe that coming generations always bear the current problems of family debts.

"Families are like countries. Coming generations in the countries that are going into debt now will bear the burdens of the debts.

"Moreover, family loans help increase the rates of inflation. Personal loans generally cover consumer needs; in the last analysis they are added buying power entering the market and leading to an increased demand for goods and services, as a result of an imminent collapse leading to increases in their prices. That is what is known as inflation.

"Ours is a country that is suffering from real inflation, and we must not help aggravate it in any event."

#### From Opposite to Opposite

The question now is, if the family does not go into debt, but to the contrary is the principal depositor and the principal saver, does that mean that it has a financial surplus and consequently is not facing financial problems?

It is hard to make this sort of analysis, in the opinion of Dr Fu'ad Hashim.

He continues, with reservations,

"My commentary here is not scientific or precise so much as something I defend. I believe that the relations which arise from it must be studied as contradictory phenomena. I believe that these contradictory phenomena are related to those which appeared in Egypt in the period from 1952 to the present.

"The social phenomena before 1952 were normal. They developed in the course of normal conditions. After 1952, phenomena arose as a result of decrees and laws, under abnormal conditions, in accordance with extreme historic shifts from the right to the left, and back.

"Here I am not claiming to evaluate political and social systems and experiments, but I do say that the society went through two totally contradictory experiences, socially and politically, and it was natural that contradictory phenomena should arise within it.

"A family does not borrow, and has financial surpluses to save. That is the general picture which the average figures stress but they are totally opposed to reality.

"The reality states that the ordinary Egyptian family suffers from major, profound financial problems and does not go into debt, for social and religious reasons. If it does save, savings are normally haphazard and temporary in their sources, such as emigration or extra work. However, their real revenues do not in any event help them to save.

"I believe that the problem requires serious study. Certainly such a study will be beneficial for a final analysis of the course of the domestic economy."

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## SUDAN

### ARAB AMBASSADORS COMMENT ON CONDITIONS IN REFUGEE CAMPS

Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 22 Mar 84 p 5

[Article by Imam Muhammad Imam: "Our Policy toward Refugees Has Moved from the Stage of Giving Shelter to that of Participation in Development and Construction"]

[Text] In its dealings with refugees, the government of the Sudan commits itself to international documents and regional and local agreements. Through these international and regional laws, protocols and documents, the Sudan, in its function as the largest refugee host country in Africa, deals with all the refugees present on its territory. Its watchword has always and eternally been assistance and shelter for refugees and their treatment in a fair manner which is worthy of mankind, until they return, having been received generously, as long as it is their choice to remain. Since the Sudan's activities in the service of refugees have been numerous and various, and have gone on for decades, it is most difficult to enumerate them all in detailed fashion. The Department of Refugees has made it possible for us to visit the refugee camps in the al-Qadarif area with a number of Arab ambassadors, we have become apprised of the refugees' conditions from close at hand, and, through this field visit, have managed to become acquainted with the true dimensions of the problem of the refugees flowing into the Sudan as a result of numerous circumstances.

#### The Tawawa Camp

We started our field visit, after reaching the city of al-Qadarif, with the Tawawa camp, which was established in May 1980. This is the first experiment in urban housing and most of the refugees in this camp consist of people who were from urban areas in their own countries before seeking refuge in the Sudan. This project has the goal of giving the refugees situated in this camp an opportunity to find work opportunities in the al-Qadarif area. The number of refugees in this camp comes to about 12,000 but, because of the constant flow of refugees into the Sudan, the number of refugees in this camp totals about 20,000. The Department of Refugees has established some money-earning projects for this camp.



## The Ambassador of Algeria

Mr Cherif Sisbane, Algeria's ambassador, talked at the Tawawa camp, stating,

"I believe that our Sudanese brothers are performing their duty toward the refugees as well as possible; in spite of the difficult economic circumstances the Sudan is going through, it has not abandoned its humanitarian duty toward these refugees, and I believe that only the people who have gone down this sort of difficult road will appreciate it. I wish the fraternal Sudan success in its humanitarian efforts to reduce burden of the refugees' suffering."

### 690,000 Refugees

Mr 'Abd-al-Majid Bashir al-Ahmadi, the commissioner of refugees, began his statement with a descriptive summary of the refugees in the Sudan, stating:

"The modern date for the search for refuge in the Sudan began in the mid-sixties, when the country accepted the first waves of refugees from Zaire, in 1965, followed by successive contingents across our eastern borders, from Eritrea, Ethiopia, and other adjacent areas. They all settled down within the borders of the Sudan, and the collective flow which started in obvious form in 1967 is still continuing now. 1979 witnessed the advent of Uganda refugees following the political changes which occurred there, and the numbers of refugees constantly rose, coming to 690,000, broken down among by regions as follows:

- "1. The Eastern Region, 419,000 refugees.
- "2. The Central Region, 23,500 refugees.
- "3. Khartoum Province, 41,000 refugees.
- "4. The Region of Equatoria, 200,000 refugees.
- "5. The Upper Nile, 5,000 refugees.
- "6. The Darfur Region, 1,000 refugees.

"Their breakdown by place of origin is as follows:

"Ethiopia, 484,000 refugees, Zaire, 5,000 refugees, Uganda, 100,000 refugees and Chad, 1,000 refugees."

The commissioner said, "The Sudan, in this regard, has followed the policy of settling the refugees in organized residential camps; these number 24 in the east of the country and 47 in the south.

"Aside from centers of movement and points of accumulation and location, there are three types of camps:

"A. The agricultural camps, which were established to settle refugees with rural backgrounds.

"B. Money-earning production camps, which were established in locations adjacent to existing national agricultural projects, to be a source of seasonal labor for these projects.

"C. Semi-urban camps, which contain some people coming from towns, in addition to the large numbers of refugees who happen to be living in towns in the Sudan."

#### Self-Sufficiency Projects

The commissioner said, "The Sudan's policy regarding refugees has shifted in the past 3 years from the stage of giving shelter and temporary aid to the stage of development and the assimilation of refugees into the structure of the greater Sudanese society as a productive human force, by establishing permanent productive projects and introducing professional and craft training programs into the training of young men and women, with the goal of providing suitable opportunities for self-reliance. To attain this goal, the Department of Refugees held a workshop with the International Labor Organization and the High Commissioner's Office in the Friendship Palace Hotel in Khartoum on 17 November-2 December 1983 to discuss the issues of refugees in the field of labor, training and productive money-earning projects. The purpose in this was to devote thought to attaining self-sufficiency for refugees in terms of basic requirements, so that they would be able to rely on themselves and lessen the burdens of their presence on the Sudan and its limited resources. Twelve projects were produced by that workshop in various fields of rural development, vocational training, and small projects based on local resources. The coming years will witness the results of these projects, which, it is hoped, will increase the refugees' incomes and make them more self-reliant."

#### The 'Abuda Agricultural Camp

From al-Qadarif we headed to al-Shuwak, and from there to the 'Abuda agricultural camp, on which construction started in 1981 and was completed in 1982. This camp contains about 5,000 refugees; it is an agricultural camp, and the people residing in it work in agriculture.

Mr Hasan Muhammad 'Uthman, director of refugees' projects in the Eastern Region, presented a descriptive summary of this camp, stating, "This camp accommodates 5,000 refugees, all Eritrean refugees who came to the country between 1975 and 1978. The area of the agricultural project is 5,000 feddans, which have been farmed by the refugees, now that the agricultural plots have been broken down into 5 feddans per family. The objective in this agricultural project is for refugees to be given a chance at self-sufficiency rather than relying on aid in kind. The other services in this camp include water resources, education and preventive and health care, in addition to veterinary service in the adjacent camp. They are all run by the Sudanese Department of Refugees in addition to a number of volunteer organizations which provide help in the area of construction and the field of health care."

## The Brick Industry

Mr Hasan Muhammad 'Uthman went on to say, "In reality, as I mentioned above, this camp is an agricultural camp, but it became apparent to us through experience that farming alone would not be enough for arriving at the stage of self-sufficiency. Therefore, we thought about other sources. One of the first of these sources was enrollment in consumer and producer societies. The first cooperative society was established last year, and it began to run a number of commercial facilities, such as bakeries, mills, and vegetable and meat markets. Then there is a program which is now being prepared by a foreign volunteer organization in the brick industry, and there is, according to the general plan which the Office of the High Commission for Refugees and the International Labor Organization is carrying out, [a project] to create diverse sources including light industries which are in keeping with the skills by which the refugees are distinguished.

"In this camp there are people with diverse skills, in shoemaking, other leather industries and the brick industry. They will all be included in the program for which the High Commission for Refugee Affairs has allocated \$12 million, the execution of this program will start this year and it will continue in stages, ending in 1986."

## The Wad Al-Hilyu Camp

From the 'Abuda agricultural camp we went to the Wad al-Hilyu camp, which is a reception camp, in the sense that it receives new refugees who come to us from Ethiopia [at a rate of] between 200 and 300 refugees a day. Work on this camp started on 21 January 1984 and it now has more than 5,000 refugees. These refugees are put in this camp for temporary periods, until farmland can be arranged for them and they are moved. In this period, the Sudan applies to the World Food Organization and the High Commission for Refugee Affairs for aid, because in this situation they are not productive.

## The Impressions of Arab Ambassadors

Mr Cherif Sisbane, the ambassador of Algeria, began his impressions on the field visit to the refugees' camps by stating, "Let me take this opportunity to express our happiness at being in this area, where our Sudanese brothers have enabled us to become acquainted not just with the problems of the refugees but also with the course of development in this area of the fraternal country of the Sudan. I believe that it has been a good opportunity, in which we have sensed the efforts exerted by our Sudanese brothers for the contingents of refugees who come to the Sudan from oppressed and difficult areas. These efforts are to be considered praiseworthy and you can believe that the circumstances of the Sudan are difficult and its resources limited; nonetheless, it has managed to show genuine Arab hospitality and display everything that is in its power to offer help to people who are living in circumstances of tribulation and hardship. We thank the Department of Refugees for giving the Arab ambassadors in Khartoum the opportunity to become acquainted with this area, and we hope that their efforts at getting the world to know about these difficulties which a group of people in this area of the world are facing will bear fruit."

## The Ambassador of Tunisia

Mr Abdel Hamid Cheikh, Tunisia's ambassador to Khartoum, began his impressions by stating,

"Let me take this opportunity to express the warmest thanks to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Refugee Commission, which have made it possible for us in this visit to become acquainted with the affairs of refugees in the Sudan from close at hand. We have heard much about the problems of the refugees, but what we have observed up close on this trip confirmed to us everything that had been written on this subject. This sort of visit has the effect of justifying the aid the government of the Sudan has offered all its neighbors, especially those who are refugees."

## Iraq

Mr Taha al-Dulaymi, the second man in the Iraqi embassy, stated "At the outset I would like to register my thanks and my appreciation for everyone working in this area for giving this opportunity to witness the Sudan's concern, which we have read and heard about, which it is bearing as a result of the heavy burden which has been cast upon it, as is its fate. We have truly observed it making great, unremitting efforts, with its lofty sense, in terms of generosity and morality. We have sensed this in our beloved Sudan, and we wish every success and every benefit for the Sudan in these humanitarian efforts which the Sudan has agreed to assume. What we have witnessed expresses the extent of the Sudanese people's efforts to support their downtrodden brothers."

## Syria

Mr Mustafa 'Umran, the charge d'affaires in the Syrian embassy in Khartoum, talked about his impressions, stating "I have spent 4 years in Khartoum. During this period I have made numerous visits to various areas, but this area differs greatly from the other ones. No one residing in Khartoum can realize what the Sudan is doing or be aware of the conditions of the Sudan unless he goes out of Khartoum. Every thanks to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Refugee Commission for giving us the opportunity for this visit to this important area, in which we became informed of the hardships the human beings who are our refugee brothers are bearing and the praiseworthy effort and estimable care the Sudan is offering. We hope that the Sudan will extend the resources to make it possible to follow up on this humanitarian task, and we hope that all the people participating in the area of aid to refugees they will offer aid to the fraternal Sudan."

## Saudi Arabia

Mr Mubarak ibn Thabit, the counsellor of the Saudi Embassy, began his impressions about this visit by stating, "It is indeed a good sign and a generous gesture on the part of officials in the government of the fraternal Sudan that the Ministry of Internal Affairs is presenting this invitation to the Arab countries' ambassadors in Khartoum to visit the refugee camps in the Eastern Region. We have long hoped for this visit, for a long time, and,

with thanks to God, this visit took place, in the course of which we became apprised of the true dimensions of the problem of the refugees in the Sudan. We also became acquainted with their conditions, the extent of their suffering and the good efforts the government of the Sudan is offering in this regard, which have an effect in the spirit of everyone who has visited these camps."

Mr Mubarak ibn Thabit went on to say, "There is no doubt that our visit to the refugees' camps has made it possible for us to become informed of their problems; we have studied their sufferings from close at hand and have become apprised of their needs, and hope that the world will respond to the effort the Sudan is exerting to alleviate these refugees' sufferings."

#### Morocco

Mr Mohamed Redouane, the first secretary of the Moroccan embassy, said, "We are happy to observe the refugee camps in the Sudan and become informed of the efforts the government of the Sudan is exerting for the refugees. We had an idea about the problem of the refugees in the Sudan, but it was not an integrated one; however, this visit has made us further acquainted and informed us of the aspects of the tragedy the refugees are suffering from and the efforts the government of the Sudan is exerting. We hope that the Arab and Islamic governments will offer aid to the fraternal Sudan, so that it will be able to aid these refugees."

#### Somalia

Mr Hassan Barre, the first secretary of the Somali embassy in Khartoum, concluded the discussion on impressions by stating, "First, I would like to offer my utmost thanks to our brothers the officials in the Sudan, especially in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Commission of Refugees, who have given us this opportunity to observe with our own eyes how the fraternal Sudan has shown hospitality to the Ethiopian refugees, who have escaped from their countries for various reasons, as is the case in Somalia. There is no doubt that the Sudanese nation throughout history has been characterized by Arab generosity, as we are now seeing in these camps which we have visited in the Eastern Region."

Our visit with the Arab ambassadors to the refugee camps was a good opportunity to become apprised of the dimensions of the refugee problem and the constant flow of refugees over our eastern borders. For all these reasons, we will continue to talk about the issue of the refugees in a future installment, in order to round out the issue in its various aspects.

11887

CSO: 4504/234

# GOVERNMENT HOPES FOR REVIVED ARAB, UN MEDIATION IN WAR

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 49, 17 Mar 84 pp 20-21

[Article by Diyab Nabhan: "While Boom of Guns Continues on War Fronts, Baghdad Invited Arab Ministers of Foreign Affairs to Make Field Visit and Shoulder Responsibility"]

[Text] Baghdad--On the dawn of Monday, 12 March 1984, the Iraqi forces repelled another Iranian offensive against eastern al-Basrah area. This was the 10th offensive of its kind since the violent battles started on the 22nd of last February. Meanwhile, the Iraqi forces have continued to intensify their pressures and their violent and concentrated attacks on Majnun Island, tightening the siege and seeking to drive out these Iranian forces which are estimated at five brigades of Guards and Mobilization Forces, in addition to units of the [regular] Iranian army.

The new Iranian attempt to penetrate Iraq's international borders comes one day before convocation of the emergency meeting of the Arab ministers of foreign affairs for which Iraq called in a message sent by Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Tariq 'Aziz to Arab League Secretary General Chadli Klibi on 7 March 1984 to discuss the serious situation threatening the area in the wake of the deteriorating conditions on the war fronts.

The new Iranian emphasis on Iraq's international borders reflects Iran's determination to continue the war and to reject the peace efforts. This was expressed in the official Iranian statements issued at an early stage of the war, which has now entered its 44th month, and reached a deadend as a result of the Iranian rejection of all the international efforts and mediation made to end this war and to settle this conflict peacefully. At a time when Iraq continues to seek a peaceful settlement, responding sincerely and objectively to the regional and international mediation efforts and acting in a manner compatible with its evident victory on the battlefronts, Iraq's call for the Arab League Council to convene an emergency meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs comes within the framework of Iraq's effort to intensify the political campaign at the Arab and international levels so that Arab and international circles may shoulder the actual responsibility toward one of the most serious current issues--an issue threatening world peace and security--on the one hand and to force the Iranian side to submit to the international resolutions calling for putting an end to the fighting and for



solving the conflict peacefully on the other hand, especially since the international community is displaying evident indifference, if not disregard, for the war and for the serious consequences that will emanate from its continuation.

Moreover, Iraq is showing obvious resentment vis-a-vis UN procrastination in sending its mediation envoy, in revitalizing the mediation efforts and in declaring a frank and definite position toward Iran's intransigence and toward its determination to reject peaceful efforts. This Iraqi resentment emanates from fundamental moral considerations and from [concern for] the prestige of the United Nations at present. This has been reflected in the message sent by Iraq's permanent UN representative to UN Secretary General Xavier De Cuellar on Sunday, 11 March 1984.

At the same time, Iraq seeks to have the Arab states shoulder their pan-Arab responsibility vis-a-vis a serious danger embodied in the Iranian behavior on Iraq's borders--responsibility shouldered on the basis of the Arab League charter, the Arab joint defense treaty and the Fes summit resolutions to bolster and strengthen Arab solidarity and the ties of belonging and of common destiny. There is a general belief among the ruling Iraqi circles that the absence of Arab solidarity and the failure to take a united position toward the war has encouraged Iran to persist in and to continue the war.

The emergency conference of the Arab ministers of foreign affairs is the first Arab meeting within the framework of the Arab League devoted solely to discussing the issue of the war and of its impact on the area. Iraq has prepared a detailed report to be presented to the conference on the military attacks carried out by the Iranian forces in an abortive attempt to cross Iraq's borders and control Iraqi territories. Even though the observers attach importance to the Arab League secretary general's efforts to persuade Syria and Libya to attend the conference despite the deteriorating relations between Baghdad on the one hand and Tripoli and Damascus on the other hand because of their position of support for Iran since the outbreak of the war, considerable questions prevail in the Arab political circles as to whether the conference will produce results that will have a tangible impact on uniting the Arab world and revitalizing the peace efforts. Moreover, what is required of the conference is not just to stop at supporting Iraq. Rather, what is required, as Iraq sees it, is for the Arabs to prove their adherence to the principles of Arab solidarity and common action. The semi-official Iraqi AL-THAWRAH called in an editorial published on Monday, 12 March 1984 (i.e. on the eve of inaugurating the conference), for the adoption of a clear and frank position condemning the Iranian regime and expressing serious solidarity with Iraq.

Furthermore, contacts are under way between Algeria and the Gulf Cooperation Council member states to conduct joint mediation to put an end to the war. Parallel efforts are being exerted by the Gulf Cooperation Council to bolster the mediation which the United Nations was about to launch prior to the latest battles--mediation which sought to send a mission to both Baghdad and Tehran to prepare for a visit by the UN mediation delegation led by Olaf Palme, Sweden's prime minister who made between 1981 and 1982 five visits to

Baghdad and Tehran which produced no positive results. The United Nations has a six-point plan to determine the causes of the war, without using the word "aggressor," to establish a cease-fire, to achieve withdrawal to pre-war positions, to exchange prisoners, to deploy UN observers on the points separating the two countries' borders and to dispatch a UN commission to find out the dimensions of the damage inflicted on cities and civilian targets and to determine its causes. AL-TADAMUN has learned that this plan has Iraq's approval whereas the Iranian side has failed to respond to it.

In addition, mediation activity and political efforts are intensifying along with the state of military escalation to which Iran has resorted recently in order to lead the war to a new place of serious development that is about to consume everything in the area, according to the address delivered by Qatar's minister of foreign affairs to the 10th session of the Gulf Cooperation Council ministers which opened in Riyadh last Saturday. While the Iraqis have been able to repel and destroy the Iranian offensives and to display great ability in inflicting enormous human losses on the Iranians, they have also succeeded in taking the war to the top of the international events and to the center of Arab and international attention through a concentrated and effective media campaign and through an intensifying political campaign which will undoubtedly contribute to intensifying Iran's isolation and to creating added internal and international difficulties for the Iranian regime, which has failed to provide convincing, realistic and objective justifications for its determination to continue the war.

While the boom of guns has continued on the fronts, the Iraqis and many of their Arab brothers have been reiterating this question: Will the conference of the Arab ministers of foreign affairs held especially to deal with the Iraq-Iran war emerge with a unified and pressuring Arab position that will put an end to this war which threatens the security of the entire Arab homeland?

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CSO: 4404/401



KUWAIT PETROLEUM CORPORATION'S MARKETING POLICY OUTLINED

Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 15 Mar 84 p 9

[Article: "We Are Making Plans to Stay in the World Market for Decades"]

[Text] When we enter the markets, we do not do so in order to earn quick profits, but rather with a long-term strategy in mind.

We have initiated steps of coordination with the GCC nations concerning types of contracts and customers as well as the exchange of goods.

Mr Hani 'Abd-al-'Aziz Husayn, executive assistant of the commissioner for marketing planning in the Kuwait Petroleum Corporation [KPC], said to us: "The KPC is formulating overall central and strategic plans for all of the corporation's firms and is overseeing the coordination which is taking place between the various planning divisions. This planning process is based on the KPC's belief that it is necessary for all of the corporation's sectors--the production, refining, petrochemicals, transport, and other sectors--to have effective plans. As far as marketing planning is concerned, we are formulating plans regarding the marketing of crude oil, gas, and refined products." Mr Husayn went on to say: "The central planning which takes place in the KPC formulates a strategic concept for the plans of operation in the various sectors. These strategic premises provide the basis for determining the features of the business and activity conducted in these sectors. For example, let us say that the KPC decides to refine a certain portion of Kuwait's crude oil in modern refineries and export it in the form of refined products. The process of coordination then begins with the corporation's sectors which are involved with the achievement of these objectives. The best means of achieving these objectives are sought out, and this means selecting the proper technology and refinery units which must take into consideration worldwide market conditions. This must be done because market conditions are what determines the type of refineries to be used and the type of units which are necessary. After this step is concluded, it is necessary to begin thinking about how to plan to have the refinery products transported. In other words, should one use large-size or small-size tankers to transport them? I chose this example in order to show the unity, coordination, and close connection between the plan's strategic objectives and

the steps of coordination which are followed with the various sectors of the corporation."

### Marketing Planning

Mr Husayn said: "The KPC is a large and ambitious corporation. We plan to stay in the market for decades to come, and we are planning to earn the highest possible profits. Above all we are operating in accordance with purely economic criteria. What we have in mind is the earning of long-term profits. We are not entering the market in order to achieve quick profits. What we aspire to do is to reach the large and stable markets. Our dealings with these markets will provide us with greater profits, and will do so in an atmosphere of stability. In our marketing planning we also endeavor to carefully choose very good types of customers to deal with. We are all over the world, and we sell to the markets of Japan, Europe, and the Mediterranean nations. We market our products in a number of countries, and even within individual countries we have different types of customers. This, of course, is a result of the fact that we are large-scale exporters. As long as this is true, then we must have a presence in all markets in order not to be vulnerable to any dangers or changes which might occur in a particular market and in order to guarantee that we have markets. Our objective of increasing our profits has meant that we have had to go directly to the consumers. We directly supply our consumers with our products via the facilities which we have acquired in a number of European nations. Perhaps this process has given Kuwaiti oil an even larger marketing outlet and has provided us with even greater business flexibility."

### Competition

Mr Husayn went on to say: "In our marketing planning we are concerned about decreasing the cost of our operations in order to acquire greater advantages which can provide us with the ability to be more competitive in the market. This also involves decreasing costs in technical operations. For example, the economics of production should be profitable and we should seek out means of transport which are less costly, we should determine the ideal number of workers necessary for our production, and we should increase the productivity of these workers. As long as the conditions determining prices in the market remain the same, then it is important for us to decrease costs and this will make us more competitive. All of this demonstrates the importance of coordination between the various sectors of the corporation. During all of the phases of the studies and design work in connection with the projects to modernize the refineries at Mina' al-Ahmadi and Mina' 'Abdallah, there was cooperation and coordination between the planning division in the [Kuwait] National Petroleum Company and the KPC's marketing planning and central planning [divisions]. What was agreed to in practice is already beginning to be applied." Mr Husayn added: "We in the marketing planning division represent part of a whole operation. At the beginning of each planning cycle we formulate our concept for the markets which we wish to have, and then we formulate the production pattern which is necessary for a particular type of product."

## Types of Plans

Concerning the types of plans that are put into practice, Mr Husayn said the following: "So far the KPC has not had a 5-year plan. However, this idea is now being discussed. Right now we have something which is an alternative to this, and it is called our 'strategic concept for the future.' Instead of having a 5-year plan, we have an operational plan for each upcoming year, and these plans are discussed with the KPC's central planning apparatus. The plan which is followed is the one which guarantees that the KPC will be more competitive in the realms of decreasing production costs, diversification of customers and markets, furnishing appropriate means of transport, and directly reaching consumers. These are the general features of our marketing plan. We believe that such a plan guarantees us a higher yield and provides us with greater stability in our operations in the long run."

## Coordination with the GCC

Concerning coordination with the GCC nations in the realm of marketing, Mr Husayn had the following to say: "As we know, there is coordination in the positions taken by the oil consumers. This makes it all the more imperative that there be coordination between the oil producers, especially since a number of Gulf nations are going to be having oil refineries. Our point of view is that the world market is capable of absorbing the products that will be coming from these refineries. However, it will be necessary to have coordination. The fact is that we have already undertaken some steps of coordination such as those involving the types of contracts and customers and the possibility of exchange of goods. Those persons in the GCC nations who are responsible for marketing are periodically getting together at meetings. Even before the GCC was established, there was a committee for the coordination of gas sales between the Gulf nations. This activity was then expanded to the point where it now includes petroleum products. We, for our part, have had outstanding experience in the field of marketing and we are engaging in the training of personnel from our sister-nations. We have trained people from Bahrain, and now we are also training a number of young people from Oman. We welcome all types of coordination and cooperation with our sister-nations."

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## SYRIA

### AL-ASAD MAINTAINS DELICATE BALANCE IN FOREIGN POLICY

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 214, 17-23 Mar 84 pp 3-5

[Article by 'Imad-al-Din Adib: "Honeymoon for Syrian Role in Area Until U.S. Presidential Elections; Will al-Asad Continue to Achieve What He Wants?"]

[Text] Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad has done all he wanted to do. Very simply, he has achieved all the slogans he raised and he has succeeded in all the battles upon which he embarked. In the past 18 months, the Syrian president has been able to compel the forces of Yasir 'Arafat, the PLO chairman, to leave Tripoli after violent bloody fighting. The Syrian president has also been able to deal successfully at two levels with the tension in U.S.-Syrian relations, receiving every U.S. envoy who wanted to meet him while his forces in Lebanon were receiving the shells of the battleship, the "New Jersey."

Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad has continued to oppose strongly the Lebanese-Israeli accord known as the 17 May accord, refusing to amend, improve or add to it and insisting on its abolition.

The Syrian president has continued to oppose the presence of the U.S. Marine forces in Lebanon, considering this presence a threat to Syria's national security. It has been rumored that Damascus encouraged or turned a blind eye to the radical operations carried out in Lebanon against the U.S. Marine Forces--operations which have had the deepest political impact on U.S. President Ronald Reagan, helping to charge the psychological climate in Washington against the stay of the Marines in Lebanon.

Now the Marines have departed from Lebanon, the 17 May accord has been abolished, a call has been issued for holding a national reconciliation conference in Switzerland and the PLO is seeking to reopen the closed bridges between itself and Damascus.

Here emerges the big question: How has President al-Asad been able to do what he wants so far and will he be able to continue to maintain this cohesion and success in his plans?

This report is an endeavor to delve into the mind of the strongman of Syria and an attempt to draw a picture of the future he will live with.

Three weeks ago, U.S. President Ronald Reagan heard a detailed explanation from one of his Arab visitors on Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad. The visitor said: "Mr President, President al-Asad may not be one of your favorite stars, he may not be your friend, you may not like his policies and you may be annoyed with his strong contacts with the Soviets, the Libyans and the Iranians. But ultimately, he holds the most important threads of 'security' in the Middle East today."

When President Reagan wanted to weaken the logic of his interlocutor, he added him the traditional American question to evade responsibility: How can we guarantee that President al-Asad's regime will remain stable? The Arab visitor looked at him with a smile, saying politely: Mr President, al-Asad took over power on 13 November 1970. Since then, Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter have gone and al-Asad has dealt with Kissinger, Muskie, Vance, Haig and Shultz and he is still standing fast.

When Reagan wanted to refute his interlocutor's words, he began to enumerate many of his negative observations concerning President al-Asad, with the Arab visitor answering them one by one. Finally, Reagan said: Do you want to convince me that there is nothing that can influence al-Asad's position in Syria? The Arab visitor answered: "What may happen to al-Asad is among the dangers that may happen to any leader in the third world countries, namely the dangers of sickness, assassination or natural death." The visitor added: "Generally, Mr President, Syria will continue to be a fundamental card in the area's stability."

#### Introduction to Understanding al-Asad

President Reagan is not the only one who finds it difficult to understand President al-Asad's mind. This mind, and this special method in managing conflict, has motivated numerous writers to try to put it under the political microscope in an endeavor to learn the law of "action and reaction" in President al-Asad's mind. The difficulty of studying President al-Asad's personality lies in the fact that you cannot predict his reactions. Consequently, "you don't play the game with him according to your rules but according to his." Herein "lies the danger" in al-Asad's method of managing the struggle, as they say.

To understand President al-Asad, you must refer to four basic sources that influence his makeup:

The first source is his childhood in the mountain village of Qardahah in the 'Alawite Mountains, and the mountainous nature of this childhood made Hafiz al-Asad, the child and the adolescent, firm, determined and sharply decisive.

The second source is his belonging to the 'Alawite sect in Syria which represents nearly 10 percent of Syria's population that amounts to 9.2 million people, the overwhelming majority of whom belong to the Sunni sect. Even though most of the merchants and of those influencing the political and social history of Damascus have been Sunni Muslims, the 'Alawites did not enjoy in the past the same rights and social status. This is why young Hafiz

al-Asad's joining the military corps was the best way to find for himself the right social place given the conditions of the Syrian social structure.

The third source is the Ba'thist source. In 1940, al-Asad joined the Ba'th Party and played an active role in it. Al-Asad was able to employ his military presence to strengthen himself in the party and employ his political strength to bolster his position in the military establishment.

The fourth source is his personal qualities, the most important of which is considered to be his secrecy. With his secrecy, he was able to form an underground Ba'thist committee during the Egyptian-Syrian union from 1958-61 in order to continue to manage party affairs, despite the secession catastrophe.

#### His Secret in His Heart

According to one of al-Asad's Arab friends, "the secret of al-Asad," who is 54 years old, "is in his heart," meaning that you cannot know exactly what he really wants. This is a behavior which he seems to have inherited from his family, considering that he grew up in a minority sect which had to conceal its affiliation so that it would not be subjected to persecution. It seems that al-Asad has maintained this pattern of "caution" in [divulging] information. The pattern has become one of the characteristics of his policy, making it difficult for whomever deals with or against him to know precisely the direction of his future steps.

What perplexes some people in President al-Asad's personality is his selection of the timing to divulge what he wants to divulge and the dimensions of his reaction to events. Some were surprised when al-Asad, who was then minister of defense, refused to appear before a party committee to be questioned on the measures to deploy some military units to protect certain civilian areas and targets in the wake of Israel's shelling of a Fatah fedayeen camp in February 1969.

Al-Asad's reaction was to submit a list of demands, the most important being the demand for a cabinet reshuffle, the declaration of military mobilization, strengthening relations with Iraq and curtailing the dimensions of Soviet influence in Syria (!).

Al-Asad accused 'Abd-al-Karim al-Jundi, the commander of military intelligence at the time, of turning Syria into a police state. On the following day, 2 March, it was announced that al-Jundi had committed suicide.

At the same time, al-Asad refused to embroil the Syrian forces in the "Black September" battles between the Palestinians and Jordan and stood against Salah Jadid who was heading the civilian wing of the Ba'th Party. Al-Asad wanted to preserve his military force so as not to weaken this force vis-a-vis Salah Jadid's civilian establishment. In fact, al-Asad's calculations were sound and he was able to hold all the threads of power without any military confrontation.

One of those who lived with that phase has said: "Had it not been for al-Asad's secrecy and his careful calculations, his movement would not have succeeded."

It is said that al-Asad thinks of nothing other than power, meaning that he is a man with no private hobbies, aspirations or whims that consume his time away from the game of politics. One of al-Asad's colleagues has told Stanley Reed, a NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE reporter, that al-Asad said to him when he was minister of defense in 1969: "Nothing happens in this army, not even the promotion or transfer of a corporal, without my knowledge. This is how I spend my time. There is nothing other than my work."

The American journalist reports that al-Asad's colleagues call him the "night bird" because he is a pilot and because he loves to work at night. At times, President al-Asad receives his visitors at 0100 or 0200. When you meet with al-Asad at such a time, you find him clean-shaven, alert and ready to listen to you without interruption until you finish, regardless of whether you finish in 1 hour, 2 hours or 7 hours!

What President al-Asad does when he negotiates with an envoy, be he American or any Arab visitor coming to ask for mediation with the Lebanese or the Palestinians, is that he listens to all the points raised, regardless of how harsh or critical, without showing any emotion on his face and without any interruption. Without recording any point, he then answers every point raised in an orderly and deliberate manner.

An Arab personality close to President al-Asad has said: "I was his guest at a private dinner and I decided to abandon all protocol and to talk to him as an Arab man-in-the-street. I asked him to forget my political position and to deal with me as a journalist or as an ordinary Arab man who has come to put before him some observations and criticism."

The Arab politician added: "I sat down, enumerating to President al-Asad my observations on the internal situation in Syria, on liberties, on Syria's relations with Iran, on Syria's position toward Lebanon and on its position vis-a-vis Abu 'Ammar and its support for the dissidents."

This politician went on to add: "I was not reserved in selecting my phrases but said all I had heard and all I felt as it was and without any dilution or diplomacy."

The Arab politician went on to add: "All that time, President al-Asad, who was listening with extreme interest and surprising composure, did not bat an eyelid. After finishing what I had to say, which lasted more than 2 hours, the Syrian president began to answer every point and every phrase I had uttered with simplicity and with a composed and organized intellect, refuting all the convictions I had stated or the rumors I had heard. The most striking thing I heard from President al-Asad was perhaps his words: Why do you lament Syria for being ruled by a minority regime? What regime in the area is ruled by a majority? Why Syria alone?"

#### Al-Asad's Equation

Al-Asad's equation has been founded on mixing a "cocktail of foreign relations" that achieves cohesion and firmness for his regime. Syria's is the



only political regime in the area maintaining strong relations with the Iranian regime and with the Gulf states at the same time. It receives military aid from the Soviet Union but never stops opening its door to any U.S. envoy. It supports Druze leader Walid Junblatt and holds dialogue with Lebanese President Amin al-Jumayyil at the same time.

Al-Asad's equation is based on the premise that maintaining a relationship with (A), who is in a conflict with (B), strengthens my relationship with (A) and my relationship with (B) because neither wants the other to have an exclusive relationship with me.

Al-Asad's equation is based on the premise that it is beneficial to convince (A) that I can mediate on his behalf with (B) and vice versa.

All these intricate threads and conflicting relations need a "commander" or a "maestro" to manage them. Al-Asad has chosen himself to perform this role.

The difficulty and danger of this game is not just in the way it is played. Its biggest danger comes when it reaches the point of "saturation." Al-Asad's equation has now achieved a new projection in the Syrian, Arab and international arena:

Syria: The Syrian presence has become so influential that it is also affected by the events in Lebanon, meaning that if Syria has a presence in Lebanon, then for this very reason Lebanon will have a presence in Syria. In other words, the Lebanese crisis will throw its weight on Syrian policy. It cannot at all be imagined that the Syrian forces in Lebanon, amounting to 40,000 troops, are just a regular army that is not influenced and does not feel sympathetic for what it sees in Lebanon.

The second point is that the political returns of the "spoils" gained in Lebanon, beginning with the entry of the Syrian forces to Lebanon and ending with the foiling of the 17 May accord, must be divided among the Syrian leader.

What is being reiterated at present about the difference between the faction of Rif'at al-Asad, the president's brother, and Hikmat al-Shihabi's faction is the most important issue facing President al-Asad. Informed circles assert that Rif'at al-Asad; 'Ali Aslan, the chairman of the military operations staff; Muhammad Ghanim, the chairman of the defense companies; Col Salim Barakat; Thamir Juni; and Adib Isma'il are in sharp disagreement with Hikmat al-Shihabi's faction, which includes 'Ali Dawbah, in charge of military security; Muhammad al-Khuli, in charge of air force security; 'Ali Haydar, the commander of the special units; Ibrahim Safi, the commander of the First Division; 'Adnan Badr Hasan, the commander of the Ninth Division; and Shafiq Fayyad, the commander of the Third Division.

President al-Asad is trying to contain this situation by dividing power and appointing three vice presidents, with Rif'at al-Asad becoming vice president for military affairs, 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam vice president for foreign affairs and Zuhayr Mashariqah vice president for party and internal affairs.



What distinguishes Rif'at al-Asad's position is perhaps his view of Syrian policy vis-a-vis Lebanon, his objection to Syrian support for Iran in its war with Iraq and his openness to the PLO leaders, particularly his special relationship with Yasir 'Arafat, with the Jordanian royal family and with its adviser, 'Ali Ghandur.

At the Arab level: Syria's presence in Lebanon has become a presence acknowledged at the Arab level. Through his disagreement with the U.S. policy, al-Asad has been able to put the Arab world in a position where it cannot, even if it wanted to, attack Syria at a time when U.S. battleships are shelling it. But the Syrian president will continue to be required to stop supporting Iran, which has reached the point of no return in its war with Iraq.

Syria will also continue to be required to reopen the dossier of Syrian relations with the legitimate leadership of the PLO.

At the international level: Al-Asad rests assured that the Soviet military aid he wants from Moscow will be delivered as agreed and on schedule. As for Washington, the U.S. policy in Lebanon has been defeated by Syria and Washington will not move positively or negatively insofar as the area is concerned until the presidential elections are settled next November.

Damascus is wagering on Reagan's failure in the elections. This means that a new U.S. president will come in January 1985 to begin exploring matters, studying the U.S. internal situation and paying attention to Middle East affairs, meaning that Damascus "will take leave from the U.S. headache" for at least 24 months to come in case Reagan fails.

#### Future Troubles

The basic troubles posing a threat to al-Asad can be defined as follows:

- A. Personal troubles concerning his health, should it deteriorate again.
- B. Internal: Should the conflict between Rif'at's and Hikmat's factions intensify and should al-Asad fail to settle it decisively.
- C. At the Lebanese level: What can Syria do now that the 17 May accord has been abrogated?

Syria is following a policy based on rejecting the 17 May accord and intransigence and pushing matters toward the brink--the brinkmanship policy which was John Foster Dulles' policy--and then on negotiating under the canopy of a tense situation threatening to explode in the face of all with the aim of collecting the "price of pacification." It is evident that Syria will face the problem of restoring Walid Junblatt, its ally, to his natural size and of persuading him to abide by the rules of the legitimacy of President Amin al-Jumayyil's regime.

- D. At the Palestinian level: Information received by AL-MAJALLAH indicates that there is a sharp disagreement between 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam, the

Syrian minister of foreign affairs, and the faction of Abu Salih and Abu Musa and that the Syrians have discovered that the dimensions of their agreement with Abu 'Ammar's faction, despite their difference with this faction, was much easier and simpler than their agreement with the dissidents.

E. At the Arab level: Any future Arab summit will stress that the main effort exerted will be first to persuade Syria to participate and, second, to begin accepting the political projections to be presented to the summit, especially insofar as the status of the Syrian forces in Lebanon and the Arab position toward a confederacy between Jordan and the PLO are concerned.

All this puts President al-Asad's successful equation--so far--to a new test and a big question asking: Are rejection and intransigence enough or should the equation be developed by beginning to accept?

8494

CSO: 4404/401

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRES ON FOREIGN LABOR REVEAL PERSONAL DATA

Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 18 Mar 84 p 8

[Article by Muhammad 'Abidin: "Asians Infiltrate Without Planning or Guidance"]

[Text] "The Incoming Asian Labor, Its Relationship With the Native Family and Its Negative Impact" is the title of the field study prepared and carried out by the public service team of students at al-'Ayn girls secondary school under the supervision of Saniyah Muhammad Abu al-'Aynayn, the school's social specialist.

The study, even though coming in the wake of numerous serious studies on this issue, is exclusively distinguished by adopting the method of questionnaires and discussion which has revealed a lot about the native families which the previous field studies failed to reach.

The study is also distinguished by the fact that its proposals and recommendations have found their way to all the parties concerned through direct appeals. Those conducting the study have not been content with this but have gone further to invite numerous sides to deliver lectures to housewives and have visited the homes surrounding the school for the purpose of enlightenment and of implementing the solutions at their disposal.

At the outset of the study, the students pointed out that the objectives of the study were to find out the real reasons behind the native family's employment of Asian labor, to study the extent of the awareness of society's members of the dangers emanating from this labor's presence, to find out the size of the Asian labor employed by the native family, to formulate, after conclusion of the study, a plan to curtail the negative effects emanating from this labor, to adopt a plan to enlighten society's members in which all of the resources of the environment and of its institutions are utilized, to give the female students the opportunity to familiarize themselves with their society's problems and to get accustomed to the scientific research and study method, to confront society's problems with solutions and, finally, to crystallize the principle that the school is an educational social institute that has its role in serving society.

In the study, what is meant by Asian labor is the labor coming from south and east Asia. The study has not concerned itself with all Asian labor but has

confined itself to house servants, cooks, (pushcarts), nannies, drivers, farmers, guards, tailors and electricians. The last three types of craftsmen are among those used by families.

### Spheres of Study

The study's strike force consisted of citizen students at al-'Ayn girls secondary school, considering that the school includes the girl students of all parts of the residential quarters of the city of al-'Ayn. The study's geographic sphere was the city of al-'Ayn with its 26 residential quarters. However, the field enlightenment plan following the study was confined to the school area (al-Saruj area) because it contains the largest number of the school's girl students.

The study adopted the system of social survey which relies on questionnaires and personal interviews. The study also relied on the students as its source, with a sample of 200 citizen students selected as sample.

### Numerical Structure of Study Sample

The study shows that the average family consists of 10 members, with one family having 20 members and with the smaller families having 4-5 members. The study also demonstrates that 158 families employ labor and 42 families do not. It further shows that the average number of the members of a family employing labor is 8.5 members. In light of analysis of the number of family members, it is believed that this number may be an influential factor in the demand for employing people to help with household burdens or in the lack of such a demand. Moreover, the income of more than 95 percent of the families not employing domestics is average income. Consequently, high income is considered a certain indicator of the employment of this type of labor.

In the study, the numerical relationship between the number of family members and the number of help employed shows that the average number of domestics employed per family is 3 workers. There is no evident connection between the number of domestics employed and the number of family members. On the contrary, it has been noticed that small families employ as many domestics as they have members. On the other hand, some big families employ no more than one domestic.

### Family Educational Level

Illiteracy among fathers in the families studied amounts to 37.5 percent and among mothers to 72.5 percent. The percentage of those who can read and write among the fathers is 50.7 percent, which is a high percentage. As for university education, it is low among fathers and nonexistent among mothers. These figures are due to the conditions of women's education and to the recent foundation of the university in the state. Meanwhile, the percentage of middle-level education and of enrollment in the university is high among brothers. The percentage of illiteracy among brothers is low because they have grown up in the phase of comprehensive interest in education.

### Income Level of Family Employing Labor

Of the 158 families employing labor, 60.1 percent belonged in the higher income bracket, 38 percent in the middle income bracket and 2 percent in the limited income bracket.

### Labor Categories

The number of workers employed by these families is 470 workers, including 460 Asians and 10 non-Asians. It is evident that the categories most heavily employed are, in the order of employment: Driver, cook, steward, gardener and nanny. The demand for the other categories is small. There is a higher demand for males than for females and the percentage of male and female stewards employed is equal. There are no women employed as gardeners or drivers. Insofar as nationalities are concerned, it has been proven that the use of the phrase "Asian labor" is correct because it has been confirmed that 98 percent of the labor employed by the families is Asian.

### Comparison Between Male and Female Employment

Nearly one-half the families prefer females for jobs in which both males and females can be employed, 39 percent of the families see no difference between males and females and 13 percent prefer males to females.

The reasons for preferring females among those who prefer women workers are that it is easier to deal with women, women are more capable of taking care of children, they are more obedient, there are old women in the family [to be taken care of], there are prohibitions about the presence of strange men among the family members, there is fear of the problems emanating from the presence of men, small wages are paid to women and the work done by women is better.

### Religion of Category Employed by Family

The study shows that 79.4 percent of the workers employed are Muslims and 20.6 percent non-Muslims. The study draws attention to the danger of this non-Muslim group, despite its small percentage. The study also demonstrates that the Muslims among these workers know nothing about Islam and that their conduct and ethics are as far as can be from the principles of Islam. The study shows that 60.3 percent of the nannies are non-Muslims and that most of them are Buddhists. This makes the danger evident.

Moreover, 54.5 percent of this group are married, with ages ranging from 20-50 years. A total of 52.2 percent are of ages ranging from 30-40 years.

Moreover, 61.1 percent of the workers do not have health certificates proving that they are free of diseases. Of these, 62.1 percent are cooks and 49 percent are nannies. All these are serious indicators that require a serious pause on the part of the employing families.

## Wages

The major percentage of workers employed by the families researched earns a wage of 500 dirhams [monthly]. This makes it possible to believe that the low wages are an assisting factor in increasing the number of such categories [workers] employed by the families. However, there are categories which earn high wages in comparison to the others, such as drivers whose work requires capability and training. The wages of these categories range from 400-1,500 dirhams.

## Why Asians?

As for the reasons for employing Asian labor and not others, the answers given are: Obedience, easy availability because of their presence in large numbers, skill and good work, wages and the lack of labor from other nationalities to replace them.

## Why Do They Employ Labor

The study shows that the main reason and the strong motive for the presence of this phenomenon in society are related to society's new conditions and to the material and social changes that have developed in the family situation, making the employment of this category more of a part complementing and reflecting the new social situation than an actually needed labor contributing to shouldering burdens and work. Most of the families (80 percent) consider that the presence of such labor in the home has become an ordinary and essential thing, regardless of what work it performs. This is proven by the fact that what are supposed to be the reasons for employing this labor, such as shouldering or alleviating burdens, the large number of family members, the father's preoccupation with his work and his non-presence at home or the mother's illness and the absence of somebody to perform her work, play only a minor role in this employment.

## Conclusion

The study goes on to explain the conclusion, saying: We can conclude from this study the dimensions of the phenomenon we are discussing and the features of this phenomenon in society, which we can sum up in the following:

The Asian infiltration coming with all its labor categories is an actual reality in the native family, regardless of its size and its social and economic levels.

The presence of this labor in the family is not coupled with or organized by an effort or a well-studied plan to channel its influence in the right direction that is compatible with society's customs and traditions and its Arab and Islamic affiliation.

The main reason and the strong motive on the part of these families in opening their door wide to this category is no more than a social need developing as a result of a new situation characterized by a rise in the standard of living and with the subsequent employment of others as a manifestation of prosperity.

This incoming Asian invasion has imposed itself on society and on the native family in a manner that has made its infiltration of the family something normal which has come to be considered so quickly a general, ordinary and logical phenomenon, regardless of the actual need for the type of work performed by this category.

As a result, the native family has not been qualified to consider what problems may emanate from this labor. Consequently, this family has begun to be surprised by the problems gradually and the problems have reached the point where silence cannot be maintained.

This incoming invasion has begun to threaten several aspects of society, of which we note:

The Arabic language is threatened in the short and long run if this category continues to be employed. This is evident in this enormous number of alien phrases and dialects intruding on the language and on the modes of conversation.

The danger threatening our deep-rooted Islamic traditions and beliefs under the canopy of non-Muslim nannies, especially Buddhist nannies--particularly when they perform their religious rites, most of which are pagan in form and content, before children.

This enormous number of behavioral and ethical delinquencies and of various kinds and forms of crime with which the press and information media face us daily are no longer secret to anybody.

The disintegration that may afflict the family as a result of the abandonment of each of its members of his natural role and responsibilities to the various types of this labor. If the mother abandons the responsibility of raising the children to the nanny and reduces or totally eliminates her control over and guidance for the children, if the father abandons all his responsibilities to the driver, the steward or the servant and if the children get accustomed to negative behavior and reliance on others, this may create among them a state of non-positive behavior and of instability to participate and contribute. All this will ultimately have its impact on the greater society whose nucleus is the family.

If not subjected to controls limiting its effects, this category of labor can bring in an enormous number of alien diseases from which society, embodied in its members, may suffer. We have found that a large percentage of this labor, especially nannies, do not have health certificates proving that they are free of diseases.

Even insofar as the Muslims in this labor are concerned, their understanding of Islam and their performance of its rites and dictates do not meet the required minimum. Most often, we find them to be Muslims in name only. This has its serious consequences that may threaten our Islamic values and traditions and may result in abnormal and destructive practices and forms of behavior.



This category of workers resides fully with the family, even though its social, religious and health conditions make such residence an imminent danger to all members of the family. Moreover, such workers are given the opportunity to run family affairs without controls or guidance.

In its present form, the situation cannot be ignored or disregarded. A serious pause, in which all of the state's institutions at their various levels and with their various kinds participate, is needed to confront this incoming tide and to establish the controls that curtail its effects, rationalize its use and propose alternative solutions.

#### Proposals and Recommendations

In conclusion, the study recommends the following:

1. Launching a comprehensive enlightenment campaign at the level of the entire society in which the various media--radio, television, the press--and the Ministry of Religious Trusts and Islamic Affairs participate.
2. Requiring the employment agencies to observe several conditions and specifications when importing this type of labor into the country. These conditions and specifications include the following: A health certificate proving freedom from diseases; refraining from the importation of non-Muslims, especially insofar as nannies are concerned; ability to speak Arabic and a guarantee of good conduct by the employment agency, with a guarantee of compensation in case these conditions are violated.
3. Launching field enlightenment projects which are carried out by the public service teams of girl students and which focus on the native families dealing with this type of labor.
4. Organizing seminars and lectures in the schools for male and female students and their parents to enlighten them as to the danger of this labor category and to try to curtail its harmful effects, provided that professors specialized in religious, social and health affairs participate in these enlightenment lectures and programs and provided that the emphasis is put on the mother's role in raising children and in meeting her responsibility toward the family in its entirety.
5. Establishing stricter control over the inlets through which many members of this category infiltrate and enter the country illegally.
6. Establishing penalties for families that violate the stipulated employment conditions and setting conditions that define the circumstances under which the family may be permitted to employ such labor.
7. Stating by law the maximum number of such workers which the family may employ so that the matter may not be left uncontrolled and so that those who fail to abide by the stipulations may be brought to account.
8. Requiring the families by law to employ Muslims who speak Arabic and who are free of diseases. It is the responsibility of the family to see that these conditions are met.



9. Requiring the family by law to employ females, not males.
10. Requiring the family not to allow unmarried workers to live with the family.
11. Stricter penalties by the judiciary authority against violators.
12. Focusing on the mosque's role, through the mosque preachers, in fighting this phenomenon by reliance on religion and its teachings.
13. Have the social institutions and organizations specialized in women's activity play an effective role in enlightenment among their members and mothers aimed at getting rid of the harmful consequences of this labor.

Finally, Fatimah al-Ansari, the school principal, said in the introduction to the study that the study is a gift to whomever is concerned with society's progress and prosperity, whomever is concerned with social studies and scientific research and to every person concerned with Arabism and Islam. This study will perhaps answer some questions and motivate all to take a serious pause to stop the rush of the incoming Asian invasion.

Saniyah Muhammad Abu-al-'Aynayn, the social specialist who supervised the study, has told AL-KHALIJ: In order that the study may not stop at the academic limit, the social service team has held a number of enlightenment seminars and has made house visits in the school area. Housewives have shown good interest. The conclusions of this study have been transformed into warnings contained in a statement we have addressed to the officials, to family heads, to mothers, to the ministries concerned, to the Abu Dhabi Women's Association and to all the circles concerned. We have pointed out to all the serious nature of the fearful Asian invasion and demonstrated that the problem cannot be disregarded or underestimated.

The chairman of the Students Council and the leader of the public service team have explained to AL-KHALIJ in detail the outcome of the study and noted that the students have found no justification for the Asian labor in homes other than supplementing the home structure and prestige. Mothers who faced household burdens before the arrival of this labor have not complained of the difficulty of these burdens. Moreover, house burdens are now much easier than before as a result of the introduction of technology into all that pertains to domestic management.

8494

CSO: 4404/401

REPORTAGE ON POSTPONEMENT OF ELECTIONS

Government Press Note

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 19 Mar 84 pp 1, 10

[Text] The Government on Sunday decided to postpone the Upazila elections scheduled from March 24 to April 2 till the holding of President and Parliament elections, reports BSS.

The President and Parliament elections are scheduled to be held on May 27.

A Press note issued by the Government in Dhaka said the decision to postpone the election was taken to avoid the path of confrontation, pave the way for national unity, dialogue and understanding and to reach the ultimate objective of transition to democracy by maintaining peaceful atmosphere.

It said the postponement was effected in view of the assurances given by different political parties and with the hope of getting total cooperation of all irrespective of party affiliations and opinion in the greater interest of the nation and the country.

The Press Note said the Government sincerely hopes that in view of the decision the political parties will take part in the discussions with the Government about the overall democratic process including the Parliament and the President elections.

The Press note said: "The Government totally believes in peaceful transfer of power through a democratic process. Keeping this belief in view, the Government has been taking up appropriate measures through a specific programme. Efforts have been made to establish real democracy and to initiate democratic process from the lower level with a view to strengthening the basis of participation of bulk of the population in the political and administrative set up. To make this effort a success, Union Parishad and Paurashava elections have already been completed amidst wide participation of the people and unprecedented enthusiasm. Besides, upazilas have been established with a view to changing the system of administration of the colonial era and making it suitable for an independent country and with the ultimate objective of decentralising the administration to make it a vehicle for political, social and economic activities of the people. The

preparation for holding the Upazila chairman election has been taken on the basis of adult franchise to democratise the system and to create opportunities for the people to develop their respective areas and become the master of their own destiny.

The Government firmly believes that equitable distribution of the limited resources is not possible through political and administrative activities based in the capital and the cities. The people living all over the country, particularly those living in the rural Bangla have the full right to enjoy the fruits of overall development. Keeping this in view, the Government with total honest objective wanted to complete the elections of the local Government organisations. Side by side it has announced a definite election schedule for President and Parliament elections for transition to democracy. Before that the Government had also tried to assess the mental make-up of the people.

But unfortunately a good number of political parties have failed to realise the goodwill of the government and at one phase their attitude of opposition assumed a grave proportion regarding the Upazila elections although they did not submit their arguments in favour of their objections formally to the government. Their attitude of opposition was expressed through newspapers. Since the Government believes in democracy and does not want to impose anything forcibly it has said that the representatives of the people after the national level elections can change or expand the decentralisation programme. The Government believes that national unity, understanding and peaceful atmosphere is necessary to take the democratic process to its cherished goal through the decentralisation of administration. For this the government repeatedly invited for political dialogue and made efforts to reach a rational solution on the basis of mutual understanding and consent. But for whatever reason, this effort of the government has been hindered.

The creation of the Upazila, which is the result of the epoch making peoples welfare-oriented administrative decentralisation, has in the meantime been appreciated by the people from all walks of life, nay the nation. The Government expects that the election to it would be free, fair, auspicious and peaceful. Considering the utility, dignity and significance of Upazila, the Government wants to see an auspicious result of an auspicious beginning. But the Government has observed that an uneasy and restive atmosphere centering the Upazila elections has been created. This situation is undesirable and it should be resolved. The path of confrontation should be avoided. The Government has to go ahead further. National elections are still ahead. The Government cannot allow the favourable path it has created through its untiring efforts during the last 24 months toward transition to democracy to be foiled. The Government wants to maintain its good faith and keep open the path of dialogue, national unity and understanding.

The government still feels that in the greater interest of the country, the path of confrontation could be avoided so that the hard earned independence, sovereignty and socio-economic activities are not affected. Controversies and difference of opinion are not unnatural. But solutions to them through discussions are desirable because all are the sons and citizens of one country, Bangladesh.

In the greater interest of the nation and with the hope of getting full cooperation from all irrespective of party or opinion and in view of the assurances of various political parties and for avoidance of the path of confrontation, making the paths of national unity, dialogue and understanding easier and to reach the final aim of transition to democracy the government has decided to postpone Upazila polls till after President and Parliament elections.

The Government sincerely hopes that in view of this decision the political parties of the country would participate in the discussion with the government on President and Parliament elections including the overall democratic process. The Government feels that every individual should realise that the country has been passing today a critical juncture of national history. Both the government and the political parties and all others irrespective of party affiliations have to face all crises through patience, tolerance and mutual understanding. Interest of the country is much higher than individual or petty interest. The Government hopes that all concerned and all quarters would respond to this call from the viewpoint of overall national interest.

#### Political Leaders React

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 19 Mar 84 pp 1, 10

[Text] Leaders of different political parties reacting to the postponement of the upazila polls said that the country had been saved from a possible confrontation. They said that the government by postponing the election has acted wisely and had showed respect to people's will.

Leader of the seven-party alliance and Chairman of BNP Begum Khaleda Zia said, "Thanks to Almighty Allah that the nation had avoided a conflagration and good sense had prevailed upon the government."

Giving her reaction to Bangladesh Observer on Sunday evening at BNP office Begum Khaleda Zia hoped that the political problems would be solved politically and a conducive atmosphere would be created by releasing political detenus, withdrawing warrants and huias and lifting of ban on open politics immediately.

If these conditions were fulfilled the atmosphere for a dialogue would be created, Begum Khaleda Zia said adding that "we are not against negotiation."

When asked if her party and alliance would join a dialogue she said, "We shall consider it if the atmosphere is created."

Replying to a question whether her party and alliance would participate in the May 27 presidential and parliamentary elections, Begum Zia said that her party and alliance would hold meetings to discuss this issue.

She termed the postponement of the Upazila elections as victory of the people and congratulated the people for joining the struggle for restoration of democracy.

CSO: 4600/1709

ERSHAD: ELECTIONS POSTPONED FOR PEACE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 20 Mar 84 p 1

[Text]

The President and Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt Gen H M Ershad, on Monday called upon the people to march forward unitedly to build a happy and prosperous new Bangladesh, reports BSS.

Addressing a huge public gathering at Badda in Dhaka the President said that the declared policy of the present government was to improve the lot of the helpless and toiling masses.

Organised by the 18-point Implementation Committee of ward no. 74 of Dhaka Municipal Corporation, the meeting was also addressed among others by the Administrator of the corporation Major general Mahmudul Hassan and Chairman of ward no. 74, Mr Abdul Ali.

Speaking about the decentralisation programme undertaken by the present government President Ershad hoped that utility and importance of the creation of upazilas as part of the administrative decentralisation and reorganisation would be realised by all in course of time.

Referring to the postponement of upazila elections, he said it was done for the sake of peace and discipline. He reiterated his government's belief in peaceful transfer of power through elections.

President Ershad told his audience that he believes in the politics of development and efforts directed towards improvement in the condition of the common people who are neglected and deprived.

Responding to the cheering crowd, President Ershad said he would reciprocate their feelings and affection by bringing about overall improvement in the condition of the teeming millions.

Stressing the need for balanced development in the urban areas he said he has been visiting different areas of Dhaka city to see for himself the problems and find out ways how best these can be solved.

Amidst thunderous applause the President said that the residents of Badda area would not be inconvenienced. He directed the Dhaka Municipal Corporation to make arrangements for the supply of water and gas in the area.

He assured the local people that the development activities of the area would be taken up through consultations with them.

Earlier on arrival at the meeting venue the President was profusely garlanded. The people raised welcome slogans and expressed their solidarity with the programmes of the present government.

JSD LEADERS ISSUE STATEMENT ON POLITICAL SITUATION

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 21 Mar 84 pp 1, 8

[Text]

JSD (Rab) President Chitta Ranjan Guha and General Secretary, A. S. M. Abdur Rab said that the prevailing political crisis was becoming more acute day by day following postponement of upazila election.

The JSD leaders in a statement to the press yesterday said that neither the government nor the political alliances could present any alternative formula concrete and acceptable to the people to overcome the crisis. They further opined that more contact between the government and the alliances would not be enough for resolving the crisis, because people from all walks of life have yesterday, Janadal requested the government to nominate chairman in each of the remaining upazilas till elections are held for smooth functioning of the upazila parishads.

The meeting, presided over by Acting Chairman of the party, Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury, also demanded explanation of the government about the fate of candidates who filed nominations for the polls that now remain postponed.

The party, in another resolution, expressed the view that the postponement of the upazila polls proved government's sincerity

towards peaceful transition to democracy. It observed that condition prevailing in the country was conducive to the holding of upazila polls despite opposition by some political parties and efforts to create obstructions.

Nevertheless, the party said, the government postponed the upazila polls in the greater interest of the nation and with the objective of peaceful transition to democracy.

Janadal believed that the postponement of the upazila polls will accelerate the process of ending martial law through national elections.

Janadal called upon the opposition parties not to consider government's decision as weakness and instead take part in the forthcoming presidential and parliamentary polls by avoiding the politics of confrontation and destruction to help establish democracy in the country.

The party congratulated those who filed nominations for upazila elections despite threats by the followers of the politics of violence. It urged the government to hold the postponed upazila elections within shortest possible time after the holding of national elections.

CABINET PLANS INVESTMENT, COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 20 Mar 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] The Council of Ministers has decided to frame a new law replacing the Cooperative Act of 1940 for greater democratisation of the cooperatives and to make them realistic, dynamic and pro people with provisions for elections, reports BSS.

A Cabinet meeting held on Monday night with President Lt Gen H.M. Ershad in the chair decided that the proposed new law will provide for election of members of the Managing Committees of Cooperative Societies through secret ballot. Similarly, the office-bearers of the societies will be elected directly by the members.

The Cabinet also decided to amend the Capital Issue (exemption) Order of 1967 to give more responsibility to the private sector in the field of capital investment by amending the provisions of the law to suit the need of the time.

Under the proposed amendment any public limited company would be able to raise capital-share to Tk 20 lakh from prevalent level of Tk 5 lakh without permission of the controller. But the ratio of share of shareholders and promoters would however, remain unchanged.

The amendment would also provide for raising the share capital to Tk 50 lakh from the present level of Tk 20 lakh by any private limited company without the permission of the controller of capital.

Besides, a Bangladeshi private limited company would also be able to raise the share capital to Tk one crore from Taka 50 lakh without the permission of the controller. And with permission from the controller a private limited company under joint ownership with foreign agency or individual can raise it to Taka two crore.

If the share capital of private limited companies cross the limit being set, those would have to be turned into public limited companies. A private limited company would, however, have the right to turn it into public limited company before share capital crosses the limit.

CSO: 4600/1710

FIFTEEN PARTY ALLIANCE REVIEWS SITUATION

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 20 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] The 15-party Alliance in a meeting on Monday reviewed the situation following the postponement of upazila election. The meeting presided over by Syed Altaf Hussain, President of Ekota Party observed that although the postponement of the election had ended the possibility of a confrontation temporarily, the basic demand for withdrawal of Martial Law and handing over power to the representatives of the people by accepting 5-point demand had not yet been accepted.

The meeting reiterated that the Alliance stood for political settlement of the political problems. But the present crisis is the outcome of the Martial Law and its wrong policy and political parties are not responsible for it. The Alliance demanded that the present political crisis should be resolved by accepting the 5-point demand for establishing democracy.

The 15-party Alliance meeting expressed its concern following the harassment of political leaders and workers and killing of workers at Adamjee Jute Mills. The meeting demanded release of political prisoners, withdrawal of warrants and cases, lifting of ban, open politics and stoppage of all repressive acts for creating a congenial atmosphere.

The 15-party Alliance termed postponement of the upazila election as the victory of the people and observed that the victory had been achieved due to united movement. The Alliance called for maintaining the unity at all levels for scoring the final victory.

CSO: 4600/1710



FIFTEEN-PARTY ALLIANCE DEMANDS END TO HARASSMENT

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 23 Mar 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] The 15-party alliance at a meeting yesterday demanded immediate stoppage of all activities of harassment and arrest of political and trade union leaders by the government.

Presided over by JSD's acting Chairman Mirza Sultan Raza, the meeting noted that though the government talked for bringing about normal situation but its repressive measures continued. Many of the political leaders were not yet released.

According to a press release, the meeting mentioned the recent arrests and beating of three workers including the president of United Workers Federation Mukhlesur Rahman yesterday by police who attacked workers while they were returning after a mourning procession in memory of the workers killed in recent Adamjee clashes.

The meeting also noted with concern that when the leaders of 22 political parties had gone to see devastation caused by the clashes at Adamjeenagar and to attend the gaibana janaza, the whole area was cordoned off by BDR and police. The government so far had not taken any measures for the killings rather the alleged killers like Sadu were roaming about freely, the meeting observed.

The meeting expressed surprise how the incident in which Mahila Awami League leader Raushan Ara Choudhury was injured was denied by government just to protect the police officer responsible for the incident. The recent arrest of 15-party leader and Baksal district secretary of Lalmonirhat Shah Alam from a meeting was also mentioned by the meeting.

The meeting held at the central office of CPB and adjourned till 4 pm today extended a call to the people to observe "black day" on March 24 by attending the rally to be held at the CPB office premises by the alliance on the occasion.

CSO: 3600/1717

BEGUM ZIA ASKS RESTORATION OF 1982 CONSTITUTION

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 23 Mar 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] BNP Chairman Begum Khalada Zia last night said restoration of the constitution as it was in 1982 could help resolve the political crisis now facing the country.

Talking to ENA at her party office she said the future elections to presidency and parliament should be held on basis of 1982 constitution.

She said her party wants restoration of the suspended constitution without any change of its basic principles.

Begum Zia said the basic principles of the 1982 constitution had received mandate of the people in the 1977 referendum. Subsequently two presidential elections and one parliamentary were held on the basis of that constitution. BNP cannot stand any change in the constitutional principles framed by its former late President Ziaur Rahman.

Begum Zia who is the leader of the seven-party alliance said her party would continue its struggle for the realisation of the five-point demand and establish democracy in the country.

In reply to a question she said her party had not yet received any formal invitation and reviewing the matters the government wants to discuss with her party.

Begum Zia said the government will have to fulfil three pre-conditions set by the seven-party alliance before any meaningful and formal dialogue.

These are: withdrawal of restrictions on open political activities, release of political leaders and withdrawal of warrants of arrest on political leaders and workers.

She alleged that the law enforcing agencies were still resorting to harassment of her party workers in parts of the country. She asked the government to stop such harassment immediately.

CSO: 4600/1717

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON NEW ENVOY TO SOVIET UNION

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 21 Mar 84 p 12

[Text] The Government has decided to appoint Syed Najmuddin Hashim, a Minister without portfolio, as Ambassador of Bangladesh to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Foreign Office announced in Dhaka on Tuesday, reports BSS.

Born in 1925, Mr Hashim graduated with Honours in English language and literature from the Presidency College, Calcutta in 1946.

He worked as a journalist in English and Bengali dailies and also as a radio newsman and broadcaster for 18 years.

He was the chief of public relations of an industrial financing bank, the head of external research in the Bureau of Research and Reference and Executive Director of Pakistan Council, patterned on British Council.

After independence of Bangladesh and his repatriation home by the International Red Cross, Mr Hashim became Managing Director, Bangladesh Film Development Corporation.

Subsequently he was appointed a Joint Secretary, Ministry of Information and later Director General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Hashim was Minister in the Bangladesh High Commission in London before being appointed Ambassador of Bangladesh to Burma in August 1980 and concurrently to Singapore as the country's High Commissioner.

He became the Information Minister of the Government on July 2, 1982.

He led the Bangladesh delegation to the first meeting of the Standing Committee on information and culture of the Organisation of Islamic Conference held in Dakar, Senegal, in January 1983.

Mr Hashim was the leader of the Bangladesh delegation to the UN Security Council in the debate on Namibia, held in New York in May and June 1983.

Mr Hashim has written and spoken extensively on art, literature, music, cinematography, public relations, communications theory and practice and environmental problems.

Some of the works of Mr Hashim, a poet, have been published at home and abroad. He has translated into English the work of major Bengali poets and authors.

Mr Hashim is married and has two sons.

CSO: 4600/1713

BEGUM ZIA ADDRESSES SEVEN-PARTY RALLY

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 19 Mar 84 pp 1, 10

[Text] Begum Khaleda Zia, Chairman of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party and leader of the 7-party alliance called upon the Government to create a congenial democratic atmosphere in the country. She said that the present movement of the people could not be stifled through intimidation or repressive measures.

Begum Zia was addressing a meeting of the 7-party alliance organised in observance of anti-repression and Political Prisoners' Release Day at Nawab Yousuf Market on Sunday. Presided over by Mirza Golam Hafiz, former Speaker of the Bangladesh Jatiya Sangsad, the meeting was addressed, among others, by Barrister Maudud Ahmed, Mr Serajul Huq Montu, Begum Taslima Abed, Begum Farida Rahman Dewan Serajul Huq of BNP, Mostafa Zamal Haider of UPP, Abdul Matin of Communist League, Kazi Mujibur Rahman of UPP, Mr Shah Alam of BNP, Abu Zafar Chowdhury of NAP, Mr Alamgir Majumdar of Ganatantrik Party and Abdur Rouf Chowdhury of Democratic League.

Begum Khaleda Zia urged the Government to hold parliament election before any other election in the country. She said that the elected parliament would decide the future course.

Criticising the Government, Begum Zia said that the Government had failed to come up to the expectation of the people. A state of chaos and indiscipline has been created in the country as people of all strata of the society are now in the street with various demands.

Demanding open political activities and release of all political detenus she said that the government of Gen Ershad was no more neutral.

She said that while activities of all other political parties have been confined to indoors, the Government had allowed a particular political party to hold meetings publicly. There cannot be two laws in the country, she regretted.

Begum Khaleda Zia cautioned the Government not to use the armed forces against the people. She said that people were not against the armed forces but against the Martial Law.

Begum Khaleda Zia demanded of the Government to repeal the education policy to help restore normal educational atmosphere in the campus. She condemned the Government for killing students.

The Chairman of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) said that the people of this country would not pardon the present government as it had come to power by overthrowing an elected government.

Begum Zia condemned the Government for blacklisting two newspapers. Blacklisting of newspapers by a government order bore the evidence that the Government was opposed to freedom of the Press.

She called upon the Government to check the price hike of essential commodities.

Finally, she expressed the determination to carry on the movement of five-point demand till those were met. She said that the people of the country would realise their democratic rights at any cost as they did in the past.

Addressing the meeting Mirza Ghulam Hafiz criticised the Government for amending Clause 74 of the suspended Constitution. He said that the government had no right to amend the Constitution framed by a Parliament elected by the people.

After the meeting a procession was brought out by the 7-party alliance in the city.

CSO: 4600/1709

SAMYABADI DAL LEADERS COMMENT ON POSTPONEMENT

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 21 Mar 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] Leaders of two factions of Samyabadi Dal in a joint statement on Tuesday observed that the Government postponed upazila polls sensing their defeat in the face of people's upsurge.

The leaders alleged that the Government was engaged in disintegrating the unity of the 15-party alliance and seven-party combine.

They further said that people have already expressed their verdict in favour of 5-point programme of 22 parties and the Government has lost its right to remain in power.

They held the view that only solution of the present crisis was to hand over responsibility of holding parliamentary election to an interim government headed by Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and return of army to the barracks. Nation can think of no other alternative they held.

The Samyabadi Dal leaders called for building up movement on the basis of this demand and to maintain the national unity at any cost. The signatories to the statement are: Mr Mohammed Toaha, Chairman, and Mr Asaddar Ali, General Secretary of Samyabadi Dal (Toaha), Khondakar Ali Abbas, President and Mr Dilip Barua, member of the Presidium of Samyabadi Dal (Nagen).

Mr Santi Sen and Mr Nurunnabi, members of central committee of Samyabadi Dal (Santi Sen) in a separate statement on Tuesday said that though late, good sense has prevailed and President Ershad has saved the nation from a disaster postponing upazila polls. They also demanded handing over of power to an interim government headed by the Chief Justice of Supreme Court. They added that the interim governments would be responsible to hold election to constituent assembly on the basis of adult franchise which will adopt a democratic constitution and reflect the will of the people.

Bangladesh Islamic Chhatra Shibir observed "Martial Law withdrawal day" on Tuesday and demanded formation of an interim government with the Chief Justice of Supreme Court as its head. Islami Chhatra Shibir feels that fair and impartial elections are not possible under Martial Law. The Shibir also demanded parliamentary elections first.

Earlier the Coordination Council of Bar Associations demanded handing over of power to an interim government with Chief Justice of Supreme Court as its head.



REPORT ON BANGLADESH-EGYPT JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 19 Mar 84 pp 1, 10

[Text] Cairo, Mar 18--Egypt and Bangladesh have underlined the significance of finding a comprehensive solution to the Middle East crisis based on the Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories including the holy Jerusalem and the recovery of the Palestinian rights including the self-determination and the establishment of an independent state, reports IINA.

A Joint Communique issued Saturday at the end of a three day visit to Egypt by Bangladesh Foreign Minister A.R. Shams-ud Doha said the two sides condemned Israel's illegal occupation of Lebanon and its intervention in the Arab country's internal affairs.

The two sides also stressed the need for the withdrawal of all foreign and Israeli troops from Lebanon.

Referring to the Iran-Iraq war the two countries urged for an immediate end to hostilities.

Commenting on the situation in Afghanistan they said there was an urgent need to pull out all foreign forces from the Muslim country.

The two countries underlined the importance of enhancing inter-Islamic relations and noted the prospects of further boosting bilateral relations and cooperation.

CSO: 4600/1709

REPORT ON JANADAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 22 Mar 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] Janadal will observe "organisation fortnight" from March 27 through April 10.

The decision was taken at a meeting of the central executive council of Janadal with acting Chairman Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury in the chair.

The meeting also called upon the district committees to form convening committees in all the upazilas under their respective jurisdiction. The fortnight programme will include extensive tours of central leaders to district, upazila and union levels to address both public and workers meetings.

The meeting also decided to co-opt some more members and office bearers in the Central Executive Council of Janadal in the wake of the decision to merge the party with 18-point Implementation Council.

Decision was taken to form women's front of the party "Jana Mahila Dal." In this connection the meeting entrusted the acting Chairman and Secretary General with the responsibility and called for the formation of four regional committees of "Jana Mahila Dal" in four divisions.

The meeting also decided to expel the members of the executive council and convening committee who are maintaining relationship with other parties.

The meeting also decided to hold a conference of Janadal and Janadal supported candidates in the upazila polls.

The meeting expressed its grave concern over the clashes between rival groups at Adajmee Jute Mills. The people never desire such clashes between workers.

The meeting called upon the workers to join their duties and demanded Compensation and proper treatment for the injured.

The meeting expressed its satisfaction at the formation of enquiry committee and hoped that culprits would be brought into book.

CSO: 4600/1715

AWAMI LEAGUES, COMMUNISTS ISSUE STATEMENTS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 23 Mar 84 pp 1, 16

[Text] The Awami League, Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League and the Communist Party of Bangladesh in separate resolutions and statements came out with common demands of immediate withdrawal of Martial Law and holding of parliamentary elections first.

The Central Working Committee of Awami League in a resolution adopted in its two day meeting which concluded on Wednesday said that the five point demands including the main demand of lifting of Martial Law and announcement of a firm date for holding of parliamentary elections have not yet been accepted. But the Government is trying to hold the presidential and parliament elections on the same day. The Awami League in a resolution termed it as "farce."

Demanding release of all detenus before Independence Day the resolution said that it was a prerequisite for a normal and peaceful situation. Party chief Sheikh Hasina presided over the meeting.

Mr Abdur Razzak, General Secretary of BAKSAL in a statement on the occasion of Independence Day said that the present crisis can be resolved through withdrawal of Martial Law and holding a free and fair election under a non-political interim Government.

He also demanded release of detenus withdrawal of cases against political leaders and workers.

The Central Secretariat of CPB in a resolution adopted in its meeting on Thursday said that the question of holding the presidential and parliament elections on the same day was outside the 5-point demand. CPB holds the view that democratic forces cannot compromise the 5-point demand.

CSO: 4600/1716

# JOB PROGRAM FOR CHITTAGONG TRIBALS INITIATED

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 17 Mar 84 pp 1, 8

[Article by Hassan Abul Quasem]

[Text] The government has drawn up a massive programme to absorb the tribal insurgents of Chittagong Hill Tracts in different government services as part of a drive to persuade the misguided persons to come back to their normal lives.

The government step is meant to create a climate of confidence among the tribesmen so that they could rely on the authority particularly in the matter of their safety and begin taking advantage of the facilities announced by the government.

In a recently held council committee meeting of the cabinet it was decided to lift the general embargo on fresh appointments in the Chittagong Hill Tracts exclusively for the employment of surrendered tribals known as Shanti Bahinis (SBs). The meeting, presided over by President and Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt General H.M. Ershad, also decided to issue directives to all concerned ministries and corporations not to appoint any person and fill any vacancy without first having clearance from the Chairman, Chittagong Hill Tracts Co-ordination Committee and General Officer Commanding, 24 Infantry Division, Chittagong in the Chittagong Region.

Henceforth, the job eligibility age limits of the surrendered SBs will be relaxed in all cases with a view to providing them opportunity for taking advantage of the employment openings. The age limits will be relaxed by as broad a leash as five to ten years, in case of jobs involving hard physical labour the age limit would be relaxed by five years as against normal age requirement.

The Council committee has also decided to relax the educational qualification of the surrendered SBs and all tribesmen for all class I and class II jobs in all fields.

Quite a number of Shanti Bahini members have already surrendered to the law enforcing agencies and some more are expected to surrender in response to the general amnesty call of the government. A survey was conducted to work out the total vacancies available in the Chittagong region. But as long as the government embargo was there no suitable job was found for absorbing them.

CSO: 4600/1706

JOURNALISTS CONDEMN BLACKLISTING OF NEWSPAPERS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 18 Mar 84 p 12

[Excerpt] Mr Ahmed Humayun and Mr Reazuddin Ahmed, President and Secretary General of Bangladesh Federal Union of Journalists (BFUJ) and Mr Iqbal Sobhan Chowdhury and Mr Shayjahan Mia, President and General Secretary of Dhaka Union of Journalists (DUJ) in a joint statement on Saturday condemned the Government restriction on distribution of advertisements to the daily Sangbad and the Dainik Dosh.

The BFUJ and DUJ leaders also deplored the official circular to stop subscription of the two dailies by Government offices. They demanded immediate withdrawal of Government restrictions.

The journalist union leaders termed these Government orders as a blatant interference on the freedom of Press. They said that Government by using the advertisement as weapon to control newspapers had created a condemnable example of curbing the freedom of Press. The government had also taken a calculated move to create obstacles for circulation of the two dailies by imposing restrictions on the subscription of the dainik Sangbad and the Dainik Dosh in Government offices, they observed.

The BFUJ and DUJ leaders said that such Government interference in the freedom of the Press was without any precedence.

CSO: 4600/1708

ERSHAD SENDS MESSAGE ON RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 21 Mar 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] The President and CMLA, Lt Gen H.M. Ershad, has reaffirmed the "total and unflinching support" of the Government and the people of Bangladesh to the just struggle of Southern Africa for the elimination of racial discrimination and apartheid in all forms, reports BSS.

President Ershad in a message on the occasion of the International Day for Elimination of Racial Discrimination which is being observed today (Wednesday) said that there could be no peace in South Africa or in the region so long as the racist Pretoria regime continued to institutionalise racism and discrimination.

The President said, "today, on the 24th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, we salute all those valiant heroes and brave and unknown soldiers of human rights who laid down their lives for the cause of human dignity and freedom." We would like to pay our tribute to the gallant martyrs of Sharpeville and Soweto who suffered anguish and pain and waged a relentless war against apartheid, he added.

Gen Ershad paid homage to the memories of Stephen Biko, Solomon Malangu and numerous others whose indomitable courage and unflagging determination has left an indelible imprint on history. "We also pay tribute to Nelson Mandela and those heroes who continue to fight the system of apartheid and who remain incarcerated in South African prisons," he said.

The President said, "It is indeed an affront to the international community that the vast majority of the people of South Africa are still being denied their basic human rights and continue to suffer the indignity of racial discrimination and constant repression for their just aspirations." This, he observed, is particularly unfortunate as the United Nations General Assembly, more than a decade ago, had specifically condemned apartheid as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind. He said it is apparent that there can be no peace in South Africa or in the region so long as the racist Pretoria regime continues to institutionalise racism and racial discrimination.

CSO: 4600/1713

COTTON-GROWING PROGRAM FACING UNCERTAINTY

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 20 Mar 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] The cotton cultivation programme initiated over six years ago in the country is facing uncertainty now, though during the initial years it showed a bright prospect. The present production of seed cotton meets only two percent of the country's total requirement.

Meanwhile, the farmers are being deprived of statutory price for their produce as middlemen have taken over the control of marketing mechanism.

The farmers are getting between Tk 350 and Tk 450 per maund for American seed cotton as against the statutory price from Tk 520 to Tk 560. The cost of per acre cotton cultivation varies between Tk 1800 to Tk 2000, according to official estimate. The per acre yield of seed cotton is eight maunds on an average. While 10 percent farmers grow around 15 maunds to 20 maunds 30 percent of them grow 10 maunds and the rest others grow only 2 to 3 maunds, told an authoritative source.

The cotton cultivation programme was taken up in the country anew in 1977 in view of favourable soil and climatic condition of the country. In the past the cotton cultivation in the country was stopped with the advent of the British rule and since then there was no commercial cotton cultivation.

The target of covering 3000 acres of land under cotton cultivation was achieved in the first year of the launching of the programme and against the target of 2000 bales 1400 bales of cotton was produced.

During the initial years of cotton cultivation, the Bangladesh Textile Mills Corporation (BTMC) and Cotton Development Board (CDB) together used to buy almost entire produce at the statutory rate varying between Taka 500 and Tk 550. But today the farmers find themselves in the traditional trap of the fariah.

The BTMC and the private mill owners are not showing due attention to ensure the statutory price for the growers it is alleged. When contacted, a BMC source admitting isolated cases of corrupt practices by some field employees said that on charge of corruption a BTMC source admitting isolate their jobs last year.



He said that BTMC has taken up certain measures to curb such practices by the field staff and adequate publicity is being made in the hats announcing procurement schedule of seed cotton from the procurement centres. Some senior officials are also making frequent field trips to ensure statutory price for the growers, he said. But he, however, admitted the dominance of the middlemen in the cotton trade. Taking advantage of economic hardship of the growers the fariahhs make advance purchase of their produce before the harvesting season, he said.

A spokesman of private mills owners association refuting the charges of involvement of the private mills owners in the deprivation of fair price to the growers, said that the mills owners cannot reach the farmers in the field levels. But he said that the middlemen have started controlling the seed cotton trade similar to the country's jute trade. While arguing for fair price for the farmers, he said that only a stable seed cotton could ensure gradual reduction of foreign dependence on raw cotton.

The BTMC purchase a total of about 30,000 maunds of seed cotton till January and it expects to procure additional 50,000 maunds during 1983-84 against the projected procurement target of about 3.5 lakh maunds.

The total area brought under seed cotton cultivation during 1983-84 was 60,000 acres against the target of 75,000 acres and the Cotton Development Board expected that 40,000 bales of seed cotton would be produced against the target of 60,000 bales during the period. The BTMC differing with CDB feels that no more than 25 percent of the production target would be achieved.

The failure of cotton cultivation has been attributed to absence of necessary supervision and supply of inputs to the farmers.

Cotton seed oil is a bye-product of cotton and seed oil is a superior oil which is used for the manufacture of Vanaspati and Margarine. The crushed seed can be used as oil cake which is in great demand due to shortage of cattle protein in the country.

In view of these the growers should be given necessary incentives for bringing more areas under cotton cultivation. A mechanism should be evolved so that the farmers are left with a wide margin of profit meeting the cost of production compared to other crops, it is felt.

The cotton cultivators are provided with Bangladesh Krishi Bank (BKB) loan which however, is not adequate. The loan disbursement during 1982-83 was Taka 2.25 crore against the target of Taka four crore though the percentage of loan recovery in this sector has been quite satisfactory, according to a CDB source. The recovery of loan during the initial years was about 95 percent which, however, declined to 75 percent during 1982-83.

The annual revenue expenditures of the Cotton Development Board (CDB) for its total staff of about 650 is about Taka one crore. CDB has received a six million US dollar European Economic Community (EEC) grant in 1982 for the establishment of a seed multiplication and farm training centre for the improvement and expansion of cotton cultivation in the country. The work for the centre is nearing completion.

But a highly placed official of CDB apprehended that if the growers cannot be ensured a fair price for their produce, the cotton cultivation of the country will suffer. The ambitious scheme of gradually meeting about 50 percent of the requirement locally will remain a dream, he said.

CSO: 4600/1710

SHORTFALL IN SUGAR PRODUCTION SEEN LIKELY

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 21 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by Monowar Hossain]

[Text] Sugar production this year is apprehended to suffer a shortfall of around 30,000 metric tons after three consecutive years of bumper production.

Up to March 15 total production of sugar in 13 sugar mills of the country has been estimated at 1,40,000 metric tons against the target of 1,70,000 metric tons fixed for the current year.

The shortfall in sugar production is attributed to low supply of sugarcane to the mills due to manufacturing of gur in huge quantity by the local gur producers as well as low production of sugarcane.

A total of 34.68 lakh tons sugarcane was produced this year out of which around 28 lakh tons were required by the sugar mills to reach the production target. But due to open permission for manufacturing 'gur' by applying hand crushing and power crushing methods even in the mill zone areas and low production of sugarcane compared to production in the corresponding period of last year, supply of sugarcane to the sugar mills fell significantly. Till March 15 total availability of sugarcane in 13 sugar mills was estimated to be around 18 lakh tons.

According to relevant circles, possibility of further availability of sugarcane at the mills is remote as the crushing season is almost over.

A competent source however expressed the hope that production shortfall would not raise the price of sugar in open market. The source disclosed that an annual production of 100,000 tons of sugar was enough to meet the demands in domestic markets.

CSO: 4600/1714

## BANGLADESH

### BRIEFS

FORMER OFFICIALS FREED--Mr Jamaluddin Ahmed, former Deputy Prime Minister, Mr K.M. Obaidur Rahman and Mr Tanvir Ahmed Siddiki, former Ministers of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) were released from P.G. Hospital where they were under treatment. Col (Retd) Akbar Hussain, Minister of the same Cabinet was also released on bail. Later the former Ministers visited the Central Shaheed Minar to pay homage to the martyrs of February 28 and March 1. It may be recalled that Mr Jamaluddin Ahmed, Mr K.M. Obaidur Rahman and Mr Tanvir Ahmed Siddiki were convicted by summary Martial Law Courts in separate cases of corruption brought against them by the Martial Law Government Mr Akbar Hossain was arrested after his return from abroad, but no case was filed against him. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 14 Mar 84 p 1]

FORMER LEADERS RELEASED--Three political leaders including Shah Azizur Rahman, a former Prime Minister and BNP(S) Vice-Chairman and Mr Abdur Mannan, member, Presidium of Awami League (Hasina) were released from detention on Wednesday; according to official sources. The other leader was Dr Abul Khair of Sammyabadi Dal led by Mr Mohammad Toaha, a component of the 15-Party Alliance. Shah Azizur Rahman was arrested on February 29, Mr Abdur Mannan and Dr Abdul Khair on March 1. They were put under one month's detention. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 16 Mar 84 p 1]

JAPANESE LOAN--Japan has provided a total of Tk 23 billion (231 billion yen grant and loan to Bangladesh over the last ten years (1973-83). Talking to newsmen informally at his residence on Monday, the Japanese Ambassador to Bangladesh said that about seven percent of total aid flow of Japan was directed to Bangladesh over this period. Bangladesh was now the third largest recipient after Indonesia and China of Japanese loans and grants, he said. Replying to a question the Japanese Ambassador said that the Japanese investors were increasingly showing interest to invest in Bangladesh. The Japanese Ambassador gave details of the sectors where the Japanese loans and grants had been channelised. He pointed out that Japan had so far constructed 80 foodgrain storehouses with a total storage capacity of 80,000 tons throughout the country. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 16 Mar 84 p 8]

JANADAL OFFICIALS--Mr Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury, Senior Vice-Chairman of Janadal, will act as the Chairman of the party while Mr Reazuddin Ahmed (Bhola Mia), Vice-Chairman of the Janadal will be the Secretary General of the party, according to Party Sources in March 7, reports BSS. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 14 Mar 84 p 8]

STUDENT LEADER TO JANADAL--Mr Mustain Billah, Organising Secretary of pro-Baksal faction of Students League, at a press conference yesterday lent his support to Lt Gen Ershad's initiative for the country's transition to democracy. Speaking a press conference at the National Press Club last evening Mr Billah formally announced his joining to Janadal. He criticised the role of different student organisations and called upon the students to free these organisations from the clutches of the irregular students. The student leader alleged that the student organisations have become the stooges of the political parties and thus the premises of the educational institutions have turned into the forum for exercising full time politics. He appealed to the students to reformulate the relationship of the students organisations with the political parties. He also criticised the opposition parties for their negative politics. Mr Anisuz-zaman Khokan, Joint Convenor of Natun Bangla Jubo Sanghati was present in the press conference. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 16 Mar 84 pp 1, 8]

MAHBABUR RAHMAN DUTIES--The President has ordered that Mr Mahbubur Rahman, Minister in-charge of the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives will remain in additional charge of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Endowments. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 16 Mar 84 p 8]

BNP (DUDI-NILU) EXECUTIVE--Bangladesh Jatiyotabadi Dal (Dudi-Nilu) has called for establishment of democratic rule through elections in the country, leaving the path of conflict for peaceful solution to the prevailing political crisis. The call was made in a resolution adopted at the end of a two-day meeting of the party's national executive committee which was held in Dhaka on March 13 and 14 with chief of the organisation, Mr Khalequzzaman Dudu in the chair. The meeting felt that in the present context all nationalist democratic forces consider the move to form a nationalist front on the basis of minimum programmes for transition to democratic rule from Martial Law a great political responsibility. It further observed that the ideals of late President Ziaur Rahman and his 19-point political programmes could expedite the process of development and political stability in the country, and thus decided to organise the party on the basis of the 19 point programmes. The meeting was addressed, among others, by BNP Secretary General Sheikh Showkat Hossain Nilu, chief of the youth front of the organisation, Mr Golam Kibria, President of Chhatra Dal, Mr Nazmul Ahsan and party central leaders Mirza Jamal and Rafiq Sikdar. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 15 Mar 84 p 1]

ENVOY TO VATICAN--Ambassador Mr A.K.H. Morshed has presented his credentials to Pope John Paul II at the Holy see early this month. During the presentation ceremony on March 2 Mr Morshed conveyed to the Pope greetings and sincere good wishes from President and CMLA Lt Gen H.M. Ershad, reports BSS. In a speech delivered on the occasion he also referred to non-discriminatory protection that the constitution of Bangladesh guaranteed to every faith and sect in Bangladesh. Mr Morshed stated that under the leadership of President Ershad the people of Bangladesh are now engaged in the colossal task of developing their country to ensure certain minimum basic necessities of human life. In his address of welcome Pope John Paul II conveyed his greetings to the President of Bangladesh. He also expressed his deep respect and love for the people of Bangladesh. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 15 Mar 84 p 3]

UK DEVELOPMENT AID--Bangladesh and the United Kingdom on Thursday signed an agreement providing 6.68 million pounds of British aid for the second rural development project, reports BSS. The aim of the project being jointly financed by the Great Britain and the World Bank, is to increase agricultural production and employment and income generation for the rural poor, including women. The signing of the agreement follows the signing of the project aid umbrella which was one of the two agreements finalised during the recent visit of the Minister for Overseas Development Mr Timothy Raison. The agreement was signed by the Additional Secretary of the External Resources Division Mr M.A. Sayed and the British High Commissioner Mr T.G. Stretton on behalf of their respective countries. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 16 Mar 84 p 1]

AID FROM NETHERLANDS--Another report adds:--Bangladesh will receive Taka 67.20 crore equivalent to 84 million Dutch Florin as financial and technical assistance and as untied grant from the Netherlands under an agreed minute signed between the two countries in Dhaka on Thursday. The commitment of Dutch aid for the current year was made following the four-day bilateral discussions between the two sides in Dhaka. The Dutch delegation was led by Mr Du Marchie Sarvaas, the Ambassador of the Netherlands while the Additional Secretary of the External Resources Division, Mr M.A. Sayed led the Bangladesh delegation at the talks. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 16 Mar 84 pp 1, 12]

NATIONAL STUDENTS BODY--The Government has decided to form a National Student Council which will be represented by all the University Student Unions including the colleges according to a PID handout. Mr Ziauddin Ahmed Bablu has been appointed as an adviser to the Chancellor with the status of a Joint Secretary to the Government. He will act as the coordinator between the National Student Council and the Chancellor. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 16 Mar 84 p 1]

WORKERS GRANT COMMISSION--The government has constituted a National Grants and Productivity Commission for the industrial workers an official handout said on Thursday night, reports BSS. Mr Ruhul Islam, Retired Justice of the Supreme Court (Appellate Division) has been appointed Chairman of the commission which started functioning from March 1. Other members of the

commission are Mr Abdur Razzak, Retired District Judge, and former Chairman of the Minimum Wages Board, Dr Kazi Khaliquzzaman Ahmed, Research Economist of B.I.D.S. and Mr S.K. Barua, Chartered Accountant. Mr S.A. Wahid, Joint Secretary of the Jute Division has been appointed Member-Secretary of the commission. He will also act as the representative of the Jute Division. Mr Suleman Khan, Additional Secretary of the Industries Division and Mr Nazrul Islam Khan, General Secretary of the Bangladesh Jatiyatabadi Sramik Dal will represent the workers and Mr M. Morshed Khan the owners, the hand-out said. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 16 Mar 84 p 1]

DHAKA-CAIRO JOINT CHAMBER--Mr Ezzat M. Chidan, President of the Federation of Egyptian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FECI) and Mr M.S. Islam, President of the Federation of Bangladesh Chambers of Commerce and Industry signed an agreement in Dhaka on Thursday towards the formation of a Joint Chamber of Commerce between the two federations. The main objective of the joint forum would be to assist commercial and industrial enterprises in both countries to increase both way trade thus widening the scope of bi-lateral economic cooperation. The objectives also include removal of any obstacle which may impede the both-way flow of trade between the two countries. Mr Mohammad A. El-shorbagy, the Minister for Plenipotentiary of the Embassy of Egypt in Bangladesh was present in the signing ceremony and Mr M.A. Sattar, President, Dhaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry was also present. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 16 Mar 84 p 1]

DISTRICT BOUNDARY COMMISSION--The government has set up a four-member commission for delimitation of boundaries of districts, upazilas and thanas with Mr Kafiluddin Mahmood as Chairman, says a PID handout. The members of the commission are Mr Sirajul Huque, Retired Addl Inspector General of Police; Mr T. Mollah Retired Chief Engineer RHD and Secretary IALR Division (Member-Secretary). The commission will consider the existing sizes of districts, upazilas and thanas and recommend a rational adjustment of their boundaries and dispose of all pending cases in respect of them without hampering the present pattern of social and economic activities. The commission will also recommend on any other matter that may appear to be relevant and necessary. The commission has been asked to submit its report within six months from the day it starts working. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 16 Mar 84 p 1]

BANGLADESH PEOPLE'S LEAGUE--The National Executive Committee of Bangladesh People's League has dissolved the party and joined Janadal under the leadership of the party acting Chairman Mr Sultan Ahmed. The central leaders of the party, who joined Janadal include Vice-Chairman Ruhul Amin Soeb, Publicity Secretary Jahangir Hossain, Joint Secretary General Shahabuddin Ahmed, Central Committee Members Shahadat Hossain, Md Bilal Hossain, Khondaker Abu Omar Mohiuddin, K.M. Bilial Hossain, Mir Mohammadullah, Md Morad Bhuiyan, Habibur Rahman Choudhury, Joint Secretary Syed A.K. Mainul Haq and Labour Secretary Atiqur Rahman. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 17 Mar 84 pp 1, 8]



EXPORT EARNINGS RISE--Total exports in eight months till February last stood at Taka 1360.78 crore which is 32.96 percent more than the corresponding period of the preceding year, a Press release said in Dhaka Monday, says BSS. In terms of dollar this export earning increased by 26.73 percent as compared to the same period last year. Export price index during the period under review increased by 15.31 percent. This indicates that volume-wise relative increase in the export section during the period under review was 11.42 percent. The share of jute sector in the total export of Taka 1360.78 was 58.03 percent and non-jute sector 41.97 percent as against 59.58 percent and 40.42 percent respectively during July 82 to February 83. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 20 Mar 84 p 12]

ISLAMIC DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE--Maulana Abdur Rahim, chairman, Bangladesh Islamic Democratic League pleaded for framing of a full fledged Islamic constitution and its enforcement for solving the political crisis in the country. In a statement to the press on Thursday, Maulana Rahim expressed his concern over the existing political situation in the country and said that the sudden postponement of Upazila polls did not bring any tangible change in the overall political situation. He said that there was no doubt about it that all these grave situations were cropping up due to non-recognition of Islam as national and state principles. There was a tendency, he said, in certain quarters to blame the Armed Forces for the situation alarming in the country. Any weakening of the Armed Forces would eventually threaten independence and sovereignty, he said. He described the Armed Forces as bastion of sovereignty. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 23 Mar 84 pp 1, 8]

BNP (SATTAR) EXECUTIVE--A meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the BNP (Sattar) on Tuesday reviewed the political situation obtaining in the country and urged the Government to lift Martial Law, resume open politics, release all political prisoners and withdraw warrants of arrests and accept the five-point demand. According to a press release of the party the meeting presided over by Acting Chairman of BNP Begum Khaleda Zia expressed deep concern over the riots in Adamjee Nagar and condemned the killings and demanded exemplary punishment for the persons responsible and compensation for those who were killed and injured. It said that Mr Hazrat Ali, member of Jatiyatabadi Sramik Dal Adamjee Nagar branch, was killed in Sona Miar Bazar and claimed that his body was removed. In another resolution the meeting demanded release of former ministers Messrs S.A. Bari AT, Abul Kashem, Atauddin Khan and others. In a separate statement Begum Khaleda Zia on behalf of the seven-party alliance and BNP urged the Government to form a high powered enquiry committee and identify the killers responsible for the killings in Adamjee Jute Mills. She claimed that the pro-government goonda elements were responsible for the Adamjee incidents. [Text] [Dhaka BANGLADESH TIMES in English 21 Mar 84 p 8]

PEOPLE'S LEAGUE MEMBERS--Thirteen members of National Committee of Bangladesh People's League (Razee) have joined Janadal by dissolving their party, a Press release of the Janadal said on Friday. Those who joined the party are Sultan Ahmed, Acting Chairman, Ruhul Amin Shoib Advocate, Supreme Court and Vice Chairman, Jahangir Hossain, Publicity Secretary, Shahabuddin Ahmed, Joint Secretary General, Shahadat Hossain Central Committee member,

Mr Belal Hossain, Central Committee member, Syed A.K. Mojnul Huq, Joint Secretary, Atiqur Rahman, Labour Secretary, K.M. Belal Hossain, Central Committee member, Mir Mhmudullah, Md Murad Bhuiyan, Habibur Rahman Chowdhury, Central Committee members. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 17 Mar 84 p 1]

HASINA, CHOWDHURY JOINT STATEMENT--Awami League (H) Chief Sheikh Hasina Wazed and acting General Secretary Begum Sajeda Chowdhury have strongly condemned the police "attack" on a procession brought out after a rally of the 15-party alliance yesterday. In a joint statement yesterday, they said Labour Secretary of Bangladesh Mahila Awami League Rowshan Ara Chowdhury was seriously injured in the attack and now she is under treatment at the P.G. Hospital. The Awami League leaders said, we note with great concern this attack on a peaceful procession participated spontaneously by the people at a time when the Government announced postponement of upazila polls conceding to the reality in the face of an irresistible movement of the people. They issued a warning to the concerned quarter to refrain from such provocative path otherwise they further threatened that the government would have to bear all responsibilities. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 20 Mar 84 pp 1, 8]

NAP LEADER RELIEVED--National Awami Party (Bhasani) Central Committee in a meeting yesterday decided to relieve Mr Nurur Rahman of his responsibility as chairman of the party as he had been playing a political role completely different from the set principles of the party. Mr Ali Ashraf, Senior Vice Chairman of the party, who presided over the meeting has been asked in a resolution to act as chairman of the party. The meeting also decided to hold national council of the party on May 4. The meeting in a resolution expressed solidarity with the programme of the 15-party and the 7-party alliances. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 18 Mar 84 pp 1, 8]

CSO: 4600/1711

## CORRESPONDENT DISCUSSES PUNJAB POLITICAL SCENE

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Mar 84 pp 1, 9

[Article by K.S. Khosla]

[Text] Amritsar, March 20--Which party will win if elections are held in Punjab tomorrow? Will the Congress be able to win the Hindu vote as it did in Jammu? No one knows the answers, given the confusion and gloom in the state in the wake of the spread of the communal virus and the growing polarisation of the two communities.

One thing is, however, certain. The voting will be on communal lines. But whether the Congress will get the Hindu vote is not certain. It is no exaggeration to say that two waves of resentment, bordering on hate, are sweeping the cities and the countryside. If you talk to Hindus, they will tell you without mincing words that a hate campaign against them has been launched by Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. They say that not a day passes when the sant does not exhort his followers to take revenge. They cite press reports and tapes of his recorded speeches to prove their contention.

The killing of ten Hindu bus passengers a few months ago and the recent killing of Hindu villagers by way of retaliation for the killing of Sikhs in Haryana has further deepened the resentment.

The bitterness of Hindus can be gauged from the editorials in "Partap." Its editor, Mr Virender, is chairman of the action committee of the Hindu Sangathan and senior vice-president of the newly formed Hindu Party. In an editorial after the February 14 incidents, Mr Virender congratulated Hindus on showing courage and telling the world that they were not going to take things lying down. He said Hindus would henceforth have to defend themselves and gave a new slogan to them: "Shiv Shakti Ka Jap Kareng, Apni Raksha Aap Kareng." Justifying what happened on that day, Mr Virender said that if the government's attitude towards them remained the same they would repeat the performance.

It seems the leadership of the Hindus is still confused over its policies. Mr Lal Chand Sabherwal, who resigned from the vice-presidency of the Bharatiya Janata Party to become president of the Hindu Party, told newsmen in Jalandhar on March 11 that an allowance with the Akali Dal was possible if the Dal changed its attitude and added that he held Mr G.S. Tohra, Sant Bhindranwale and Mr Amrit Singh, president of the All-India Sikh Students'

Federation, responsible for the state of lawlessness. In an interview published two days later in "Hind Samachar," Urdu daily of Jalandhar, Mr Sabherwal said it was useless to talk to Sant Harchand Sing Longowal, Mr Prakash Singh Badal and Mr Balwant Singh for solving the Punjab problem. Talks should be held only with Mr Tohra, Sant Bhindranwale and Mr Amrit Singh.

If you talk to Sikhs, they will tell you that Hindus are responsible for the present mess. They started it by disowning their mother-tongue and now they are disowning Punjab itself by not supporting the demands which concern the entire state. They regret that not once had the Urdu press of Jalandhar supported the Akali demands, including those relating to Punjabi-speaking areas and water distribution, while all parties in Haryana had taken a united stand. "Hindus are betraying the cause of Punjab," a Sikh businessman of Hall Bazar says. The Akalis say the same thing.

Asked why they were not taking Hindus into confidence a top Akali leader said Sant Longowal had asked a BJP leader to name the Akali demands which were against Punjab and he would strike them out from the list. The BJP leader has still not given an answer.

Similarly the Hindu Party was not going to take a stand on Punjabi demands, the Akali leader said. The Akalis and, for that matter, Sikhs in this city ask why the Urdu and Hindu press of Jalandhar has not condemned the excesses against Sikhs in Haryana so far and say that even minor incidents in Punjab are splashed. Such is the heart-burning among Sikhs over what they call the "double standards" of Hindus.

#### People's Mood

There is yet another wave spreading throughout the state, which in a way is more serious and dangerous in terms of its consequences for the country. It is the growing hatred against political parties, particularly the Congress. Being the ruling party, the Congress is blamed chiefly for the present mess.

Two examples will suffice to show the present mood of the people. The people of Ajnala village wanted to take out a peace march. People of all shades, castes and political hues had gathered in large numbers and photographers and TV cameramen were in attendance. Mr Harcharan Singh Ajnala, former education minister, came forward to lead the procession. The people protested vehemently that they would not allow the Congress to take the credit for the march. The former minister had to withdraw in the face of the protest.

Mr Jagmeet Singh Brar, administrative member of the state electricity board, is leading marches in Ferozepore and Faridkot districts, strongholds of Sant Bhindranwale, and doing laudable work. But his effort is not carrying conviction with the people. Mr Brar, a former Akali leader, had desecrated the national flag, a more heinous crime than burning part of the constitution, and the Akali government had taken action against him. When the Congress came to power in 1980, Mr Brar was made general secretary of the Youth Congress and later member (administration) of the electricity board.

In the last week of February, when extremists killed innocent persons in Kanuwah in Gurdaspur district and Amarkot in Amritsar district, this correspondent saw two former Congress ministers and one Congress general secretary leave Amritsar for these villages, escorted by two police jeeps full of armed constables and their own gunmen. Such is their popularity among the people.

Another development which may take place is an understanding on alliance between the Akali Dal and the Hindu Party. An alliance between two religion-based and fundamentalist parties can only weaken the secular base in the state and the country.

CSO: 4600/1688

REACTION TO BRITISH ALLEGATIONS ON PAKISTAN COUP PLOT

External Affairs Ministry, Upper House

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 20 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, March 19--India today described as "totally baseless" a Pakistani allegation contained in a British press report that New Delhi was involved in the alleged plot in Pakistan to overthrow President Zia-ul-Haq.

The external affairs ministry spokesman said this allegation had already been denied by the Indian ambassador, Mr K.D. Sharma, in Islamabad.

The spokesman declined to make any comment beyond saying that this matter was under the consideration of the government and the government's view would be made known in Parliament.

"The Sunday Times" of London quoted some unidentified senior Pakistani officials as saying that the Indian intelligence agency was involved in the alleged plot.

The matter will come up in the Lok Sabha tomorrow when it takes up the discussion on the demands for grants relating to the external affairs ministry.

Worsening Situation

Meanwhile, some opposition members in the Rajya Sabha today sought a statement from the government on the reported plot to assassinate President Zia.

Raising the issue in a special mention, Mr Jaswant Singh (BJP) said the alleged involvement of Indian diplomats posted in Islamabad in the plot reported by "The Sunday Times" was a serious matter and the government should take the house into confidence.

Mr Singh also urged the government to inform the house whether Lt-Gen Hoon had prior permission of the government to address a press conference recently wherein he gave his assessment of the situation on the Indo-Pakistani border.

All these developments and the statements by the Prime Minister and the defence minister were indicative of the deteriorating security environment and the people had "a right to know the latest developments taking place around us," he said.

In demanding a statement on the reported plot to assassinate Gen Zia, Mr Singh was supported by Mr Suresh Kalmadi (Cong-S).

London (UNI)--The allegation of Indian involvement in the plot has been ridiculed by Pakistanis in exile here.

Reliable sources said the dispatch in "The Sunday Times" by its correspondent in Islamabad was "regrettably unrealistic and one-sided."

"The Sunday Times" had quoted senior Pakistani officials as alleging Indian instigation for a shipment of arms across the border and co-ordination of an attempt coup on March 23 by Indian diplomats in Pakistan.

The statement appears to be the result of a series of events that began in the first week of January when the Urdu newspaper "Jung" reported that some people had been arrested for smuggling arms, hashish, gold and silver, the sources said. At the same time, opposition sources said a group of about 40 army officers were caught with arms and explosives and the "Jung" report was based on that.

#### Widespread Disaffection

The sources say that there is widespread disaffection in the army and, on the basis of harsh interrogation and torture, a move to topple the government by the army came to light. Since then, the officers' families have been interrogated and so also some 300 other serving officers.

These events have led to a major reshuffle in the armed forces recently with Gen Iqbal, chief of joint staff, being replaced by Gen Arif. There have been changes in top administrators as well, the sources said.

Gen Zia has been considering his next move and indicating India's alleged hand in the plot is one way of shifting the emphasis from the dissatisfaction in the army, the sources said. The murder of the Indian diplomat, Mr R.H. Mhatre, in Britain has given President Zia an ideal opportunity for a counter-thrust.

#### G.K. Reddy Comment

Madras THE HINDU in English 20 March 84 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, March 19--The Government of India is treating with utter contempt the squalid accusation that Indian intelligence agencies were deeply involved in an alleged plot to assassinate the President of Pakistan, General Zia-Ul-Haq, with the help of some disgruntled military officers who were bitterly opposed to him.



The allegation is so fantastic that, in the opinion of Indian officials, it did not deserve a public repudiation since any formal denial would only provide some credence to such a slanderous insinuation.

It is true that there was an attempt to stage a coup, perhaps also a plot to kill Gen Zia, by some army officers who were highly critical of his dictatorial rule under the guise of Islamic fundamentalism. The Pakistan intelligence agencies did discover the plot and took pre-emptive action to forestall it by arresting a large number of officers and implicating many more in the alleged conspiracy to seize power through armed action.

But the so-called five Indian 'diplomats' had no contact whatsoever with these disgruntled army officers who were operating from strategic positions within the military establishment in Pakistan. The five Indians included one officer of the rank of Counsellor who was looking after the consular department and the other four were domestic servants.

Recall of Counsellor--The Indian Counsellor, Mr Arun Prasad has been recalled for a reason which had nothing whatsoever to do with the plot against Gen Zia or the alleged attempt to kill him. The Government has been extremely unhappy with the manner in which the officer behaved with his servants and decided to recall him as an expression of its displeasure.

The first two Indian servants he took with him to Islamabad complained of ill-treatment and had to be replaced by another two in a relatively short time. These Indian servants who had no idea of the conditions in Pakistan thought that they were going to use it as a base for migrating to some West Asian country to make a fortune.

The Pakistan intelligence agencies which were keeping a close watch on this officer tried to entice his disgruntled servants hoping to extract some valuable information from him. After the first two returned to India, the plainclothesmen posted outside Mr Prasad's house established a good relationship with the other two servants and encouraged them to run away promising to help them find good jobs in one of the Gulf States.

After keeping them in custody for a few days and interrogating them at length, the Pakistan intelligence agencies realised that these were really illiterate domestic servants who would be of little use to them. So instead of sending them to some Gulf country, they took them to the border and ordered them to cross over to India with threats dire consequences if they tried to go back to Mr Prasad's house in Islamabad.

The Pakistan Government tried to implicate two Indian Airlines employees in Lahore in the mysterious return to India of the two missing servants. The Government of India was compelled to retaliate by expelling two employees of Pakistan Airlines stationed in Delhi following the cancellation of the visas of the two staff members of the Indian Airlines.

Insidious attempt--Now an insidious attempt is being made by some unnamed Pakistani officials to link this comical episode with the much more serious bid of some disgruntled army officers in Pakistan to stage a coup against

Gen Zia and even kill him. The Economist published a fairly detailed account of the alleged coup attempt two or three weeks back disclosing that some 30 or 40 army officers had been arrested and many more interrogated in the course of the investigations. Now the Sunday Times has come out with a bizarre account of the alleged Indian involvement quoting some unnamed sources in Pakistan.

Zia's fear--The way Gen Zia has gone about making some abrupt changes at the top of the army command indicated quite clearly that he feared some sort of threat to his dictatorship from these disgruntled officers and as a matter of abundant precaution he was planting his confidants in pivotal positions to ensure that there was no threat to his supremacy over the armed forces. As Vice-Chief of the Army Staff, Gen Arif, who is perhaps the most trusted adviser to Gen Zia, would be able to ensure that the Pakistan army remains firmly under his control while Gen Zia holds the twin posts of Army Chief and President.

Rasgotra visit hangs in balance--The Government of India is waiting to see whether any senior Pakistan officials, not just unnamed ones, would dare repeat publicly the allegation of Indian involvement in the attempted coup against Gen Zia or plot to kill him. If any such allegation is made officially on behalf of the Pakistan Government, the proposed visit of the Foreign Secretary, Mr M.K. Rasgotra to Islamabad in May to resume the dialogue on a no-war pact is bound to be called off in protest.

But India does not expect that even the pathologically prejudiced ones in Gen Zia's entourage would go to the length of accusing India publicly of plotting to kill him. It is in this earnest hope that India is not over-reacting to this sorry episode of holding out the threat of cancellation of the Foreign Secretary's visit, as was done in less provocative circumstances in 1982 when the Pakistan representative compared Kashmir with Namibia in the UN Human Rights Commission.

An official spokesman therefore, confined his comments today, in response to pressing requests for clarification by both Indian and foreign correspondents, to the routine observation that the British press report about alleged Indian involvement was "totally baseless," saying that the Indian Ambassador in Islamabad had already denied it.

Unrealistic, onesided--The allegation of Indian involvement in the plot has been ridiculed by Pakistanis in exile in London, reports UNI from London.

Reliable sources said the dispatch in the Sunday Times by its correspondent in Islamabad was "unrealistic and onesided."

The statement appeared to be the culmination of a series of events that began in the first week of January when the Urdu newspaper Jung reported that some people had been arrested for smuggling arms, hashish, gold and silver, the sources said.

Gen Zia had been considering his best move and might have hit upon an India-based plot as one way of shifting attention from the dissatisfaction in the army. The story of Indian involvement was calculated to exacerbate the hostility between the two countries.

## BAHUGUNA SCORED FOR REMARKS ON GANDHI, SOVIETS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 17 Mar 84 p 2

[Article by Girish Mathur]

[Text]

Every patriotic Indian should disassociate himself from Mr H. N. Bahuguna's slanderous remark that the Soviet Union has switched over from a people-to-people friendship with India to the support of "a family as if that family is their ally." The occasion for this charge is that in a message to the national convention against the danger of war and threats to Indian security, the Soviet peace organisation has recognised the special role of Mrs Gandhi in the non-aligned movement and India's efforts to strengthen its defences against threats posed by US imperialism to its security and integrity.

This charge is ridiculous—and even more ridiculous is the championship of a people-to-people relationship—when made by a leader who was the Finance Minister in a Government which pursued so-called genuine non-alignment, opposed any special relationship with the Soviet Union, and questioned the credibility of the Indo-Soviet treaty by talking of some secret provisions in it. Mr Bahuguna probably does not know that the phrase genuine non-alignment was coined by Moynihan and meant even-handedness towards an adversary power and a friendly power.

In fact, at the moment Mr Bahuguna is engaged in an effort to merge his party with the Janata Party which in its foreign policy resolution some time back reaffirmed the so-called genuine non-alignment, and many of its leaders are known anti-Soviet and pro-US

political operators. Mr Bahuguna is also trying to establish electoral relationship with the Lok Dal and the BJP who together form the so-called national democratic alliance which sees India's future in being a client of US imperialism and is openly anti-Soviet.

Mr Bahuguna probably is also not aware of the fact that the Government in which he was the Finance Minister had entrusted its foreign policy formulation to a set of people who were working for the United States in this country. It is well-known in business circles in the country that just about the time it broke up in the middle of 1979, it had completed the preliminary exercises to do a Sadat in India—break with the Soviets and open "India's womb," to use the phrase of one of the Janata ideologues, to the US. Did Mr Bahuguna ever try to find out what happened in the quiet and long talks with Brzezinski and Vajpayee in Washington early in 1979 summer?

It is a myth to say that India's commitment to non-alignment and friendship with Soviet Union is so deep-rooted that even the Morarji-Vajpayee combination (with Shankar and Jagat Mehta working behind the scenes) could not go back on it. To go on repeating this myth is to create illusions—and illusions cannot be the basis of political action. Both non-alignment and Indo-Soviet friendship were eroded during the Morarji-Vajpayee days. Nobody questions the patriotism of

Bahuguna, Jagjivan Ram, Chandra Shekhar and company; for that matter the patriotism of even Vajpayee and Charan Singh cannot be questioned. But there is a difference between patriotism and patriotism.

In recognising the special role of Mrs Gandhi in the non-aligned movement and in the pursuit of an anti-imperialist foreign policy, the Soviet Union is not aligning itself with a family; it is only aligning with one tradition of patriotism which is symbolised by Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi—secular democratic left-oriented patriotism. To question the consistent anti-imperialism of this tradition, to pour ridicule on it because it talks in the idiom which the non-aligned movement has chosen for itself, and to play up what are called its vacillations and weaknesses is to make the same mistake which the Left made during the satyagraha movements

in the early thirties and later in the early years after independence.

The Soviet Union has built the heavy industry base of Indian industrialisation and is building base of self-reliance in the defence industry. Dmitri Ustinov had come to India with full authority of the Soviet Politburo and carried a carte blanche. He had not come to help a family but to strengthen the Indian defence system. But he certainly had the right to assure himself that India has political leadership which inspires trust and confidence and will not use Soviet arms for anti-Soviet purposes. The arms which the Soviets gave to Egypt are now being used against the Soviets in Afghanistan; the arms industry which the Soviets built in China has been arming Pakistan for more than a decade. The Soviets certainly have a right to reassure themselves.

They however do not intervene in Indian affairs directly or indirectly. Bangladesh is a much smaller and much weaker country; nobody is better placed than Rehman Sobhan to write about Bangladesh's negotiations with the Soviet Union for aid in different fields and in his 1982 book on the political economy of foreign aid to Bangladesh he says that they did not try to influence its policies or political structures in any way. What happened in Egypt is happening in Bangladesh and much earlier it had happened in Indonesia. The Soviets cannot do anything about it beyond expressing their trust and faith in those with whom they are dealing.

It is, however, for political forces in India to see that this country has a Government which strengthens non-alignment and Indo-Soviet friendship and pursues a consistent anti-imperialist policy. Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad was recently reported to have said that his party was committed to oust Mrs Gandhi's government. If he wants her government to be replaced by one which includes Mr Bahuguna and Mr Jagjivan Ram, neither non-alignment nor indo-Soviet friendship would be safe in its hands as they were not during the Janata days--and certainly not if its main constituent is the Janata or if it depends for support on BJP and Lok Dal.

As far as the CPI's position is concerned, whatever its criticism of Mrs Gandhi's government the party is committed not to seek its replacement by another bourgeois government.

CSO: 4600/1682

## GANDHI SENDS MESSAGE CONDEMNING RACISM

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 22 Mar 84 p 7

[Text]

U.N. H.Q., March 21.—Mrs Gandhi and many other Third World leaders today condemned South Africa for perpetuating apartheid and reaffirmed their support for the struggle against apartheid, reports PTI.

Their support was contained in messages to the chairman of the special committee against apartheid on the occasion of International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

In her message Mrs Gandhi declared "Racism is in retreat and its high priests have now taken resort to increasing violence through desperation."

The Prime Minister said the people of South Africa were struggling for their freedom. "In this worthy cause they deserve and need the whole-hearted support of the people everywhere. India and other nations of the non-aligned movement are with them", she added.

Mrs Gandhi termed apartheid an "obscenity" and said that successive non-aligned summits had strongly condemned the South African regime perpetuating apartheid.

Steadfast opposition to racial discrimination was fundamental

to the non-aligned movement, she added. The Prime Minister said history was witness that a determined people could not be subjugated for long.

Mrs Gandhi said the shock of the Sharpeville massacre "cannot be forgotten but the stifling of the dignity of a whole people by racist tyranny is continuing. The crushing of the spirit of a people is the greatest disservice to the creative urges of humankind", she added.

"Racial discrimination is against all norms of civilized behaviour. It makes a mockery of democracy and deprives people not only of talent and capability but also the basic feeling of fellowship so necessary for cooperation and progress", she said.

The U.N. Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, said racial discrimination was a negation of all human values and ran directly counter to the spirit of our times.

He called on Governments which had not yet ratified the international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination to do so and to participate in the "cooperative processes established under that instrument".

CSO: 4600/1704

PRESS REPORTS ON JANATA LEADERS' PAKISTAN VISIT

Press Conference on Return

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 22 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, March 21--President Zia has told Mr Biju Patnaik and Mr George Fernandes that "it would be foolish to think of a war with India." The General, they said, had made an open offer inviting India to depute Army officers for inspection of Pakistan's military dispositions, and be convinced that she did not have war-like intentions.

Addressing a Press conference here today after their five-day visit to Pakistan, they said: "From what we saw and heard in Pakistan, it seems to us that there is no justification for the war hysteria that is sought to be generated in our country."

Mr Patnaik and Mr Fernandes exchanged views with General Zia for 1 1/2 hours during their visit. The talks were in the context of an apparent deterioration in Indo-Pak relations and "loose talk of war" between the two countries.

No War Clouds

They also met a cross-section of people in Rawalpindi and Lahore, but found no sign that a war with India was in the offing.

The two leaders said: "We are convinced that Pakistan wants to live in peace and friendship with India and is more than aware of its vulnerability vis-a-vis India in the event of a war."

Besides General Zia, the Janata leaders met the Foreign Minister, Mr Yakub Khan, the Additional Foreign Secretary, Mr Abdul Sattar, the Director of the Institute of Regional Studies, General Akram, and the Director of the Institute of Strategic Studies, Brigadier Noor Husain.

They also visited the National Assembly and met the Assembly president and his associates.

The two leaders said the Janata Government had initiated moves designed to take India and Pakistan "on the high road to peace." The Congress (I) Government had, unfortunately, put the clock back to where it was when Janata took over.

#### Rao's Rebuttal

In the Lok Sabha today, the External Affairs Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao today rejected the "insinuations and suggestions" that India had had a hand in the recent attempted coup in Pakistan. They were baseless and highly reprehensible, he said.

Replying to an eight-hour debate on his Ministry's budgetary demand, he expressed concern over the increasing induction of sophisticated arms into that country.

Referring to the escalation in the level of sophisticated arms in the subcontinent, he said Pakistan had led the way and India had no option except to prepare for all eventualities.

#### CPI Criticism

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 23 Mar 84 p 6

[Text] First cracks have appeared in the broad Left and democratic front with a strong broadside by the CPI on the two Janata leaders. The two leaders have just come home from Pakistan with "a brief of the military establishment there."

The leaders are Mr Biju Patnaik and Mr George Fernandes, who gave a clear chit to Gen Ziaul Haq of Pakistan at a press conference on Wednesday and, instead, blamed the Government of India and the Congress-I for building a war psychosis.

Their statement has been denounced as "atrocious" by CPI national council secretary M. Farooqi.

"The Janata leaders claim that they met a cross-section of the people in Rawalpindi and Lahore," Mr Farooqi said in a statement on Tuesday and then asked whether they had also tried to meet the MRD leaders, who really represent the people of Pakistan and their aspirations for democracy.

Did they try to find out what the MRD leaders think of the Zia regime's plans to convert Pakistan into a full-fledged military base for the US imperialists to carry out their aggressive designs in this region? The statement asked, adding that obviously they were not interested in consulting such opinions.

Mr Patnaik and Mr Fernandes returned from a five-day visit to Pakistan a few days ago. Mr Patnaik made a stout defence of the Zia regime on his return during the debate on the demands for grants of the Ministry of External Affairs in the Lok Sabha on Tuesday. He surprised not only the treasury benches but even many of those sitting on his side in the House when he gave a clean chit to the Zia regime's acquisition of arms and, instead, charged that it was the Government of India which was seeking to build a war psychosis with an eye at the elections.

Strongly reacting to their similar remarks at a press conference afterwards, Mr Farooqi said:

May we remind the two Janata leaders that what they have said in their press conference yesterday completely contradicts what their won party president Chandra Shekhar had said on the subject in his presidential address in the recent national conference of their party in Patna? He had stated that "sophisticated arms in the hands of adventurist regimes have dangerous implications for us."

CSO: 4600/1704



## NEED SEEN FOR REVIEW OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

Madras THE HINDU in English 18 Mar 84 p 2

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

**A**S the world's largest continent with a population of over 2.5 billions, Asia abounds in contrasts because of its chequered history, geographical complexity, political diversity and uneven economic development. About one-third of this land mass extending from the Urals to the Aleutians is Soviet Asia ruled from Moscow, while China, Mongolia, Japan and the South-East Asian States constitute another one-third, and the Indian sub-continent, the Arabian Peninsula, Iran, Afghanistan and the rest of West Asia comprise the rest of it.

But in many ways it is India that represents all the diversities of this vast continent, combining the tranquil traditions and philosophical attitudes of an ancient civilisation with the powerful challenges and driving ambitions of a semi-developed industrial nation. In a hemisphere that has more than its share of monarchies and dictatorships, democracies and autocracies, religious and secular societies, communist and capitalist systems, India can legitimately claim to represent a rather unique synthesis, an extraordinary amalgam of all these dissimilarities that give a special character to its own contradictions.

**Society in flux**

It is for this reason that some political scientists love to describe India as half a democracy, a pulsating society in which every idea or emotion, lofty or ignoble, honest or hypocritical, finds a place in its political system. The critics who have no deep understanding of the complexities of Indian society tend to decry the country's democracy as no more than a convenient facade for highly personalised rule with all the trappings of parliamentary institutions. But there are others who are inclined to take a more charitable view that, as a country of 700 million people with over-reaching aspirations and great expectations, it is a society in flux that has become increasingly

ungovernable, a polity without a hard core that cannot be run with a routine administration.

The unifying theme that has helped to hold the country together since Independence is unity amidst diversity that has given India a distinct identity. It has served as a shock absorber during the last four decades, in the tumultuous pre-partition and post-Independence years, as the country passed through many trying times. But the very strains of India's internal turbulence have also diluted its political and retain her supremacy in the most challenging circumstances. But an unduly long spell of power, barring the brief Janata Interregnum, has made her increasingly insensitive to criticism, imagining that only she knows what is good for the nation and all those who disagree with her are either ill-intentioned or ignorant of the larger national interests.

It is this strange aspect of Mrs. Gandhi's temperament that has progressively isolated her from the intelligentsia despite her continued popularity with the people. Her strong point still is that she is the only one on the national scene with a modern mind, a scientific temper and an agreeable public image, free from petty parochialism and blind obscurantism, acceptable by and large to all communities and all regions.

But this wider acceptability has not made her infallible in all situations, since she has also failed deplorably to sense the mood of the people at some critical moments with disastrous consequences. There are many even among her ardent admirers who feel that she has not really mastered the art of comprehending the mounting challenges well in advance and taking steps to remove the causes of dissatisfaction, although they would like to believe that she is endowed with an uncanny capacity for crisis management.

The experience of the last two decades has shown that a vast and complex country

like India, with all its diversities of religions and regions, communal animosities and class conflicts, cannot be governed by any one

her critics, perhaps unjustly some times, of faltering leadership after her return to power in 1980, because she tended to waver and vacillate in taking important political or administrative decisions, in sharp contrast with the decisiveness she used to display in facing difficult situations in the past.

The marked slowdown of her pace, the disinclination to take bold decisions, if she could avoid them, to save herself the embarrassment of adverse reaction, has been misconstrued by her critics as an astonishing fail-safe approach to difficult national problems. Those who have been talking of her faltering leadership with glee have also become increasingly critical of the senior Ministers and others around her, who give wrong advice either to play up to her own predilections or promote slyly some questionable causes to make her take indefensible decisions.

#### **Palace politics**

A good bit of the dithering that goes on at the higher levels of Government in moments of controversy and confusion can be traced to the disquieting fact that Mrs. Gandhi has taken upon herself too much burden which no single leader can bear without depending unduly on the advice of her confidants who revel in palace politics to enhance their own importance. The concentration of too much power in too few hands leads often to cynical decisions and indefensible actions, like the latest Antulay episode, in utter disregard of public opinion and with scant respect for any rectitude in political life.

It is no use holding frequent elections if those elected have little or no faith in determining the policies of the Government, or the favoured few who find a place in the Cabinet are expected to anticipate the wishes of the leader and render advice accordingly: to acquiesce meekly in decisions that are often taken without due consultations. It has been a sickening experience, indeed, to see senior Ministers heading important Ministries, who are members of important Cabinet committees, fully supporting the move to save Mr. Antulay by enthusiastically espousing his cause and then suddenly reversing their stand and swearing by moral values in public life in an incredible reversal of roles, after an alert press, a vigilant opposition and an outraged public opinion compelled Mrs. Gandhi to go back on the earlier decision.

#### **Murky episode**

A no less astonishing feature of this murky episode is the maladroit attempt made by some sycophants to project Mr. Rajiv Gandhi as an up and coming leader of great rectitude, as though it was he who revised the earlier decision to amend the anti-corruption law to save Mr. Antulay from prosecution. The Rajiv lobby which floated this balloon did not realise that by implication the propagators of this theory were unwittingly holding Mrs. Gandhi responsible for the earlier decision, since nobody else in the Congress (I) had the authority to direct the Maharashtra Chief Minister to

initiate the amending legislation. It was a shocking instance of the crudeness and clumsiness with which some of the whizz kids entrenched in the corridors of power operate these days in Delhi.

A benevolent dictatorship where one person is responsible for all the actions of the Government is preferable in these circumstances to a parliamentary democracy in which the concept of collective responsibility is reduced to a fiction, not merely because the head of the Government is inclined to act arbitrarily to impose decisions on the basis of one's own political proclivities or personal preferences, but also due to the reluctance of senior Ministers to discharge their basic constitutional obligation of voicing their views candidly before such decisions are taken by the Government.

#### **Classic dilemma**

It is privately conceded by those in authority, with an admission of helplessness, that political corruption which has already gone too deep has started assuming malignant dimensions. The con men that continue to operate from the corridors of power make no bones about it, nor see anything wrong in tapping every available source to keep a creaky political machine running while the going is good, even if it meant shielding some dubious characters or patronising equally detestable persons. As Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, is thus faced with the classic dilemma of having to save herself more from her friends than her enemies in this unenviable situation.

What then is a credible remedy for this deplorable drift and loss of direction in public life? Those who sharply criticise her style of functioning and severely condemn some of the actions of her Government have no practical suggestions to make on what she could do to set things right. The solutions they offer for rescuing Indian democracy from its present plight are either highly Utopian or totally personal as though by jettisoning a few odious individuals she could overnight purify the corrupted system. It is this tendency to personalise the whole debate that makes those in authority adopt an unreasonably defensive attitude. Imagining that an attack on an Antulay or a Jagannath Mishra was an attack on Mrs. Gandhi herself, as though some sort of domino theory was at work behind the scenes.

#### **The real challenge**

There is need for an informed debate in the country, in the light of the experience of the last three and a half decades in the working of the Constitution, whether the system itself needs modification. The accent should be on a critical review of the present political process to see how it can be improved, not on writing off the present constitutional dispensation as a failure, as a prelude to opting for

something much worse in the bargain. The real question is whether India can make do with half a democracy or whether the country should consciously opt for something better that can work more efficiently with lesser opportunities for its abuse under Indian conditions.

The call for such a debate need not be mistaken for a malicious denigration of Mrs. Gandhi's leadership and her style of functioning, but accepted widely as a well-meaning plea for a catharsis to free the country's public life from the undesirable ones that are monopolising it and open the way for better men and women to enter politics to assert the superiority of informed opinion. The Antulay episode has served as a catalyst in creating a better awareness of the grave perils facing Indian democracy in which the unscrupulous few manage to override the views of the many conscientious ones in public life. And this in brief is the real challenge facing the nation.

If democracy fails in India for whatever reason, it cannot survive anywhere else in Asia which will then become increasingly vulnerable to both internal and external pressures, since no other Asian country has similar traditions of the rule of law and representative government. It is, therefore, necessary in the larger interests of the Third World itself, to make a success of Indian democracy which serves as an eloquent field test for the capacity of the newly independent nations to develop themselves in an atmosphere of freedom and good government. And it would therefore be doubly tragic if the Indian leaders do not display the necessary wisdom.

**G. K. Reddy**  
*from New Delhi*

CSO: 4600/1683

## REPORTAGE ON PARLIAMENT'S DISCUSSION OF DEFENSE

## U.S. Pakistan Presence Discussed

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Mar 84 pp 1, 7

[Text] New Delhi, March 20--Whatever be the motive behind the recent military exercises conducted by Pakistan along the Indian border, these exercises were on a much more massive scale than ever before and India would have to go by the "actualities" and "realities" of the situation and maintain full defence preparedness.

This was disclosed to the Rajya Sabha today by Mr R. Venkataraman, defence minister, in response to a specific query by Mr Ladli Mohan Nigam (J) whether such troop movements were regarded as "normal" or as "preparations for war." Mr Nigam also asked if an atmosphere of war was being created in both the countries to divert public attention from social, economic and political problems.

Mr Venkataraman stated that the government did not want to create an atmosphere of cold war and was interested in normalising relations with Pakistan. "But we cannot ignore the exercises undertaken by Pakistan," he observed while assuring the house that appropriate defence measures were being taken.

When Mr Pyare Lal Khandelwal (BJP) sought to point out a contradiction between Mrs Indira Gandhi's warning against the gathering war clouds and the defence minister's replies in the house, Mr Venkataraman said the Prime Minister's assessment regarding Pakistan's latest acquisition of sophisticated military hardware and lethal weapons "cannot be disputed."

Divergent viewpoint were expressed over Lt Gen Hoon's press conference in Srinagar on the Pakistani troop movements. The defence minister took the position that there was nothing wrong for a commander of a certain area to answer questions from the press. All that was required was that he must be truthful, he added.

About aerial incursions from the Chinese and Pakistani side in the last three years, he said they were not of much importance and had been brought to the notice of those concerned. When asked how many incursions there had been, Mr Venkataraman said it was not possible to answer.

Mr Ramanand Yadav (Cong) wanted to know if the Pakistani troops had dug trenches in the "no man's land," whether India had object and whether there had been an exchange of fire in the last five days.

Mr Venkataraman said there had been firing from across the border but it was not for fun to say what the purpose was. "When they fire, we also return the fire. Then, the firing stops. None from our side was wounded in 1983-84 as a result of such firing," the defence minister said.

The discussion during question hour arose from a question asked by Mr Syed Shahabuddin (J) and Mr Ghulam Rasool Matto (NC). The defence minister told them that the Indian defence forces were in full control of the Macmohan line in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border and of the 1963 line of actual control in the western sector established after the ceasefire.

He also stated that there had been "a few cases of intrusions into the Indian territory from across the border which have been vacated." The government had also taken up the matter with the government of China at the diplomatic level," Mr Venkataraman said.

In a written reply, he told Mr N.P. Chengalraya Naidu that a proposal to equip Mirage 2000 aircraft with the latest missiles and weapons was under the government's consideration. To another question on whether the performance of the Mirage 2000 will match that of F-16 aircraft supplied to Pakistan by the U.S., he replied: "The Mirage 2000 would adequately meet the role assigned to it."

The minister told Mr S.C. Jha (J) that the government had seen a report in "The Times of India" on March 2 regarding a proposal to station some U.S. armed forces personnel in Pakistan. "It is, however, understood that these personnel are for the implementation of the U.S. security assistance programme for Pakistan and that they will be shown on the strength of the U.S. defence representative in Islamabad," it was stated.

Mr Suresh Kalmadi was told in a written reply by the minister that the government had no reliable information on whether Pakistan had permitted or was about to permit installation of Pershing II missiles of the U.S. on its soil. However, it was stated that the government kept all developments having a bearing on the country's security under constant watch and took appropriate measures from time to time to maintain full defence preparedness.

## More on Rajya Sabha Discussion

Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Mar 84 p 7

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 20.

Mr. R. Venkataraman, Defence Minister, told the Rajya Sabha today during question hour that India did not intend "to bring about an atmosphere of cold war" with Pakistan. "On the contrary," he said, "we are very keen to normalise our relations with Pakistan and wish to live in peace and amity". He, however, added that India at the same time could not ignore the exercises which Pakistan was now carrying out and "we are taking appropriate measures".

The Minister, who was replying to questions on intrusions into Indian territory and violations of air space by both Pakistan and China from Mr. Syed Shahabuddin, Mr. Ghulam Rasool Mattoo, and others was specifically answering a question from Mr. Ladli Mohan Nigam whether an atmosphere of cold war was being deliberately created both in India and Pakistan to divert the people's attention.

Mr. Venkataraman said the recent Pakistani exercises were on a much larger scale than before and therefore, India had to be prepared. "We have got to be ready and that is the attitude of the Government of India," he told Mr. Manubhai Patel pointing out the Prime Minister's statement that the "acquisition of sophisticated weapons by Pakistan causes concern cannot be refuted."

**No let-up in preparedness:** The Defence Minister said that whatever the discussions were with the other side, including Pakistan and China, "our preparedness can never go down. It is true that we are having dialogues with China and it is true we have had a number of dialogues with Pakistan but our preparedness must be there."

From 1981 to 1983, there were three intrusions into Indian territory along the Sino-Indian border on the eastern and western sectors and the Government had taken up the matter with China at the diplomatic level. He, however, said: "If a person crosses one or two kilometres, it does not become a matter of great importance. Whenever we have made complaints, verbal or written, they have replied that there have been no such intrusion."

To a question on a statement reported to have been made by a General about Pakistan army's exercises, Mr. Venkataraman said there was nothing new in that since it had been repeatedly stated that there had been exercises. What was important was there should be no exaggeration. He did not agree with Mr. Jasbir Singh that the General's statement amounted to "politicalisation of the armed forces".

As for violation of India's air space, he said there had been a few instances from the Pakistani and the Chinese sides "but it is not of great importance." He could not give the number of such violations.

Mr. Venkataraman said: "There has been

firing across the western border from Pakistan; for what purpose, it is not for us to say. When they fire across the border, we also return the fire and when we do so, the firing stops. As for casualties, no one in our side was wounded in 1983-84."

To a question, he said, there was nothing like a no man's land between Pakistan and India. "There is only the line of actual control and there is no question of any trenches being dug". In a written reply, he told Dr. Suresh Kalmadi that the Government was keeping all developments having a bearing on the country's security under constant watch and taking appropriate measures from time to time to maintain full defence preparedness.

Among the written replies given by the Minister are:

**Tie-up for submarine know-how:** An agreement had been signed with a West German firm for the manufacture of submarines for the Navy. The agreement related to the supply of know-how for construction, design, operation and maintenance of the submarines. No condition was attached for production of the submarines in India. While declining to say whether the West German submarines would be superior to the submarines to be received from the Soviet Union, Mr. Venkataraman said: "It is not in the public interest to disclose this information."

Two submarines would be constructed in India from imported material packages from West Germany. The cost of infrastructure being established by Mazagaon Dock, Bombay would be met by the Government and amortised over a period of time.

**Strike notice:** Notice had been received from the All-India Defence Employees Federation for an indefinite strike from April 17. The main demands included the implementation of the third pay commission's recommendations, vacation of all types of victimisation, grant of full trade union rights to all defence workers, recognition of all trade unions and settlement of all pending demands. The matter had been discussed with the federation. The anomalies committee of the departmental council, which was engaged in sorting out the residual issues arising out of the implementation of the pay commission's recommendations, had been asked to expedite its recommendations.

**Land acquired for Medak factory:** Possession had been taken of the land required for the proposed new ordnance factory in Medak, Andhra Pradesh. Civil works had started and other infrastructural facilities were being built up as per schedule. The progress was being closely and periodically monitored through steering committees and working groups.

**MBT progress satisfactory:** The progress made in the indigenous production of the Main Battle Tank (MBT) was quite satisfactory.



Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 20.

The Defence Minister, Mr. R. Venkataraman, told Parliament today that Pakistan had been conducting large-scale military exercises along India's western borders for which there was no justification, unless these were intended to be a prelude to a heavier deployment or a precursor to something else.

Though the Defence forces were fully prepared to deal with any threat, Mr. Venkataraman said the country's basic policy was to strive for better relations with Pakistan by exploring every possible avenue for normalisation, so that the two neighbouring countries could live together in amity and peace.

But otherwise he did not let go the opportunity, in his reply to several questions on the subject in the Rajya Sabha, to caution the Indian public that in facing a threat of this kind from Pakistan which was acquiring new weapons systems well beyond its legitimate defence requirements, the Government had to take into consideration the offensive capabilities of Pakistan, without getting lulled into complacency by its platitudes and professions of peaceful intentions.

**Stepped-up Pak rearmament:** The same theme was dealt with at greater length in the annual report of the Defence Ministry presented to Parliament today drawing attention to Pakistan's "accelerated rearmament programme." The report stressed that this induction of highly sophisticated weapons systems into an area "where the leadership does not have a strong democratic base" could be a cause for instability posing a threat to peace in the region.

The report said that U.S. military assistance to Pakistan, which was sought to be justified

initially on the ground of a possible threat from or through Afghanistan, was now being projected as a move primarily intended to serve as a stabilising influence in the region. It also referred to the growing great power rivalries and the resultant scramble for bases and spheres of influence in and around the Indian Ocean.

**'Baseless':** The Defence Minister dismissed the accusation that the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, was deliberately seeking to create the impression that Pakistan was preparing for another war with India as totally baseless. The Indian policy, he maintained, was to be fully prepared to face any eventuality, but make a sustained effort simultaneously to improve relations with all its neighbours including China and Pakistan.

The annual report dealt at length with the Defence Ministry's perspective plans for

modernisation of the country's armed forces as an on-going process that had to be kept up in the prevailing security environment of the South Asian region. The 1985-90 defence plan for improving the combat effectiveness of the Army, Navy and Air Force was being formulated to coincide with the Seventh Plan, while a wider perspective plan was being drawn up to carry this process forward till 2010 A.D. spread over a period of 25 years to ensure better continuity and coordination in visualising the future requirements and preparing for various contingencies on a long-range basis in the normal course.

Apart from modernising the Army's armoured formations with better tanks and other combat vehicles, more powerful artillery and missile systems, steps were being taken to provide the infantry units with the latest types of battlefield surveillance radar, night vision devices and more efficient field communication systems.

The Army was also developing its engineering capabilities with indigenously developed track laying equipment, light weight bridges, assault crossing equipment, electrical generating and charging sets, excavators and water supply and purification plants.

**Navy being expanded:** The Navy was being expanded and equipped with new surface ships and fast missile boats, submarines and torpedo boats and other auxiliary craft, besides more naval aircraft and helicopters to serve as a supplementary air arm. The core infrastructure facilities were also being expanded in Bombay, Cochin, Visakhapatnam, Port Blair and elsewhere to provide for quicker repair and maintenance of the naval fleets which require the very latest electrical, electronic, engineering and other equipment.

The Air Force, too, came in for special mention in the annual report. The replacement of obsolete and obsolescent aircraft was being stepped up with the phasing out of Canberras, Hunters and others of the same vintage. The MIG series, from the 21s to 29s, would form the main striking force, supplemented by Jaguars and Mirage 2000s. The old transport aircraft would be replaced by AN-32s and IL-76s, while some Dornier 228s would be manufactured under licence to serve as light transport aircraft in place of the Otters and Devons.

**Impressive strides:** The report also spoke of the impressive strides made in defence production to increase the country's self-reliance. A similar reassuring reference was made to the good R and D work being done by the Defence Science establishment which has been working on the Main Battle Tank project,

## Second Line of Defense Discussed

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Mar 84 p 6

[Text] New Delhi, March 22--The Minister of State for Defence, Mr K.P. Singh Deo, today assured the Lok Sabha that the country's second line of defence was being effectively strengthened to meet all eventualities.

The need for this was one of the most important points emphasised by all sections of the House in the debate on the demands for grants of the Defence Ministry.

Intervening in the inconclusive debate, Mr Singh Deo said the twin objectives of the defence production policy was self-reliance and self-sufficiency.

Impressive progress: The defence units has made impressive progress in production and sales and were now exporting.

He corrected a member's impression that the country was importing small arms from Italy. "That was probably 10 years ago. We are not importing any small arms, including pistols," he said.

Better deal to ex-servicemen: Another point--which the members highlighted was the need to give a better deal to ex-servicemen.

The Minister reminded the House that a high-power committee was already seized of the matter.

Meanwhile, considerable progress had been made regarding their rehabilitation and resettlement. Legislation was afoot to provide legal safeguards to the ex-servicemen to get back their lands in the Union territories.

The State Governments also had been gainfully employing them. In this context, he said, some States had raised peace-keeping forces while the Centre itself had raised "ecological battalions" and posted them in the Shivaliks ranges of the Himalayas and in Rajasthan desert areas.

About the steps taken to strengthen the second line of defence, the Minister stuck to the policy of not disclosing details of its strength. He, however, said the Territorial Army, the National Cadet Corps and the Coast Guards were all being strengthened with accent on their military training aspects.

Giving details of the functioning of defence production units, he said the capital investment on them was Rs 711 crores at present. The value of production in 1982-83 was Rs 1,144 crores, marking a 39 percent increase over the previous year. In the current year, it was likely to be Rs 1,392 crores.



The sale of these units was expected to reach Rs 1,291 crores in the current year.

About efforts to explore export markets, Mr Singh Deo said exports were likely to be worth Rs 42 crores this year, compared to Rs 27 crores in the previous year.

The target for production in ordnance factories this year was worth Rs 950 crores. This was likely to be reached.

Some of the recommendations of the Sparrow committee on the Territorial Army had already been accepted and implemented.

Referring to the threatened strike by the All India Defence Employees Federation, the Minister said the Defence Secretary had already told the employees that the work of the anomalies committee would be completed by May 31.

Gen Zia's offer: Participating in the debate Mr Harish Rawat (Congress-I) questioned the veracity of the Pakistan President, Gen Zia-ul-Haq's statement that his country did not have warlike intentions towards India and the sincerity of his offer of inspection regarding Pakistan's military disposition.

Such an offer was made by Gen Zia to Mr Biju Patnaik, Janata leader when he visited Pakistan. But Mr Rawat reminded Mr Patnaik that "nobody blows a trumpet before launching an attack.

Mr Madhusudan Vairale (Cong-I) expressed concern over Pakistan's efforts to manufacture atomic bomb and cautioned India against complacency.

Mr Rajesh Kumar Singh, (Lok Dal) wanted to verify from the Defence Minister whether the Pakistan President had made an offer to India the depute officials of any rank to visit Pakistan and make personal inspection of their military installations.

Dr Subramaniam Swamy (Janata) urged the Defence Ministry to evolve a national security doctrine. The main thrust should be to become self-reliant in weapons. The country could not depend on imports, he added.--  
UNI, PTI

CSO: 4600/1688

## MP'S SCORE DEFENSE BUDGETING PRACTISES

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 22 Mar 84 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, March 21 (UNI)--An appraisal of the increased defence spending by the country marked an inconclusive Lok Sabha debate today on the defence ministry's budget demands for grants for 1984-85.

The finance minister, Mr Pranab Mukherjee, has provided in his budget Rs 6,800 crores for defence compared to the revised estimates of Rs 6,350 crores for 1983-84 to ensure full defence preparedness.

While members generally supported the higher allocation made under compulsions of neighbouring Pakistan being armed to the teeth by the United States, at least one member--Dr V.K. Pandit (BIP) expressed grave misgivings about India's defence capability.

Mr Amal Dutta (CPM) demanded the setting up of a parliament select committee to scrutinise the huge spendings of the defence ministry.

Initiating the debate on the demands for grants of the ministry, he said such a committee would put an end to allegations of arbitrariness and corruption in arms purchase deals and help boost the morale of the defence forces.

### Purview of Parliament

He wanted to know why the defence ministry expenditure was kept out of the purview of parliament when all democratic governments had allowed its scrutiny by elected representatives.

Mr Dutta criticised the defence ministry for giving retrospective effect to a newly-formed defence plan. The ministry should discuss its weapon needs and development plans with the indigenous industry to encourage indigenisation, he said.

Mr Dutta found no systematic and "institutional" effort by the government to assess the national security environment, both external and internal.

He said the cabinet committee on political affairs which had taken over the functions of assessment of defence preparedness from the defence committee was inadequate to the task.

Criticising the "ad hocism" and "reactive" strategy of the government, the member said that in the present day context of sophisticated warfare, there should be an institution in the defence ministry to develop expertise on military preparedness and defence technology. The "group" should be composed of civilians and military men, he added. Defending the allocations under various heads, General R.S. Sparrow (Cong) stressed the need for building up a second line of defence in the country. The territorial army, the national cadet corps, the boys' scout and civil defence should be expanded and better equipped for this purpose.

Dr Vasant Kumar Pandit (BJP) said the civil defence had been neglected over the years. In many places of Maharashtra, even sirens were not working.

CSO: 4600/1702

COMMENTATOR ON POSSIBLE CHANGES IN GANDHI CABINET

Madras THE HINDU in English 17 Mar 84 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, March 16--There may be some changes in the Central cabinet in July-August before the Lok Sabha elections, if one of the senior ministers is chosen for the post of Vice-President when Mr M. Hidayatullah completes his five-year tenure.

As the President, Mr Zail Singh is from the north, it is most likely that the next Vice-President will be from the south and perhaps also from the majority community, to keep up the regional and communal balance.

The three names being mentioned in Congress (I) circles as obvious choices from the south for vice-presidency are Mr R. Venkataraman, Defence Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, External Affairs Minister, and Mr K. Brahmananda Reddi, a former home minister and Congress president.

It is difficult to visualise at this stage who will be finally chosen if the intention is to select a southern leader. Though some sort of north-south convention has been established in selecting the ruling party's nominees for the high offices of President and Vice-President, the Congress (I) is under no obligation to adhere to it if, for some reason, the Prime Minister decides to give a chance to another region.

Depends on Circumstances--If either Mr Venkataraman or Mr Narasimha Rao is chosen for vice-presidency it will necessarily lead to some changes in the Central cabinet. But it will depend on how the political situation develops in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh in the next few months whether Mrs Gandhi would want them to contest the next Lok Sabha elections.

A parallel move afoot is to send the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, Mr Buta Singh, as Chief Minister to Punjab when the time is appropriate for restoring popular rule in this troubled border State. In that case, Mr Darbara Singh is bound to be inducted into the Central cabinet to provide due representation to the Sikh community at the Centre.

Changes in Hindi Belt Likely--According to current thinking in Congress (I) circles, there may be similar changes in some northern States on the eve of parliamentary elections. The Congress (I) Ministries as well as party organisations in the Hindi belt are in pretty bad shape and can hardly provide the right kind of leadership, first during the parliamentary poll and thereafter the Assembly elections.

A good many aspirants who have been denied the Congress (I) ticket for the Rajya Sabha have been told that they would be considered for the Lok Sabha elections. One view is that as a rule, barring a few exceptions, all those who got elected to the Lok Sabha on the Opposition ticket in the 1980 elections should face the people to get re-elected with a Congress (I) ticket to prove their continued importance. Another view is that some of the more important Congress (I) members irrespective of the fact whether they joined the party before or after 1980, should be fielded to improve its prospects during the next Lok Sabha elections.

Should Be Kept Out--The Congress (I) leadership has also decided that those who have been dropped from the Central or State cabinets because of corruption charges but provided with sinecures to keep them out of factional politics, should not be permitted to get back to Parliament or State legislatures to stake their claims to ministerships again. It is for this reason that some of them have been refused the party ticket for the Rajya Sabha elections although the alternative jobs offered to them are being kept open to let them reconcile themselves to the changed circumstances.

CSO: 4600/1681

## CONGRESS-I TAKES NEW APPROACH TO LOK SABHA POLLS

Madras THE HINDU in English 19 Mar 84 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 18.

After the current session of Parliament, the Congress (I) leadership intends to set up a small brains trust — or a think tank, as some of the more imaginative ones in Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's entourage would like to describe it — to plan the next Lok Sabha election campaign with a set of fresh promises and an assortment of captivating slogans, capable of capturing the imagination of the electorate again.

A starting point for this hazardous exercise would be an in-depth analysis of the interplay of various factors that generally contribute to a victory in a waveless Indian elections, before determining the party's strategy for facing the people with an altogether new brand of image politics to cast the Indira spell to the extent possible in the present political atmosphere.

**Study of campaign techniques:** As part of their current fad for a computerised approach to politics, the Congress (I)'s election strategists have been studying carefully the campaign techniques adopted by political parties and prominent politicians in democratic societies like Britain, France, West Germany and the U.S. to choose the right blend of personality promotion and ideological mix that could produce the desired results under Indian conditions.

But these starry-eyed tacticians are sensible enough to realise — and also proceed on the assumption — that what worked in the previous polls would not necessarily work again, unless the old ideas are updated and new moves made to get the message across to the people that the Congress (I) with all its faults is still the only party capable of providing the country with a reasonably good government.

The accent is no longer on making extravagant promises or over-projecting the mother-and-son image as the only hope for India in the difficult years ahead, with a combination of personality cult, secular ideas and

socialist promises, caste and communal overtures and talk of internal and external threats, attacks on the opposition parties, and pleas for a fresh mandate to complete the unfinished tasks to make freedom more meaningful for the people.

**New approach:** The new approach is to speak frankly about the many hurdles to rapid progress, caution the electorate that there is no substitute for hard work, tell the disgruntled younger generation quite candidly that the party cannot offer any short-cuts to utopia and impress on all concerned that the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi can achieve quicker results only in an atmosphere of discipline and dedication.

The Congress (I) strategists know quite well that the garibi hatao (abolish poverty) slogan that brought the landslide victory for Mrs. Gandhi in the wake of the first Congress split in 1971, or the equally spectacular victory she scored in 1980, with the simple promise of a government that works in the aftermath of the Janata collapse, cannot make a similar impact on the minds of the voters who have been increasingly disillusioned and even infuriated by the callous behaviour of her party after each election.

So they will try hard to coin not only new slogans but also impress on Mrs. Gandhi and her son to come forward with some credible assurances of a more honest and efficient government, if the party is voted to power again.

The 1977 debacle had demonstrated quite conclusively that, while money helps to a considerable extent, it does not by itself ensure success in Indian elections. The Congress (I), as the ruling party both at the Centre and in the States, was not short of funds during the Assembly poll last year in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, where an outraged electorate inflicted a humiliating defeat on it.

The bitter experience of the Congress (I) in these two traditional strongholds of the party in the South proved with an equally devastating impact that the Indira magic cannot achieve the miracle of erasing the many sins of her dubious party stalwarts overnight, especially when she has been playing favourites in utter disregard of public opinion to the point of even appearing to shield those guilty of insufferable arrogance and monumental corruption.

**Better representation for Rajiv's followers:** The new approach, therefore, is on adopting a sanitized strategy by quietly dropping the more odious characters from the list of Congress (I) candidates and selecting in their place persons with relatively untarnished reputations to create an impression that Mrs. Gandhi was making a conscious effort to improve the quality of her party's representation. It is now an open secret that many of the old Sanjay Gandhi favourites will be replaced by Rajiv's candidates who can help to build up his image as an earnest and honest young leader determined to shed the many ugly hang-overs of the past.

The new slogans and posters will not be finalised until two or three months before the poll, depending on how the political situation

in the country develops in the course of this year, whether Mrs. Gandhi will be able to regain the initiative with some dramatic actions to assert her supremacy and impress the electorate with her indispensability at this juncture.

But this time it is not going to be only a battle of wits that can be won with slick slogans, deft moves and balmy promises to put a gloss on the party's many sins of omission and commission, since the Congress (I) will have to fight to convince the electorate about its continued relevance.

The inner debate on these agonising tasks ahead has already begun and it will go on behind the scenes with greater vigour in the coming weeks to prepare a tentative plan for the campaign, before the strategy is finalised in due course.

But in their attempt to infuse some hard-headed realism into the facile assumption of the Congress (I) that somehow the Indira magic is going to work again, the whiz kids entrusted with this challenging job are inclined to place the primary emphasis on personality factors and devise the whole strategy on the positive appeal that the mother-and-son team can make, backed by right slogans, better promises and more acceptable party candidates.

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## RAO SPEAKS IN EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTRY BUDGET DEBATE

Madras THE HINDU in English 22 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 21.

The External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, today dismissed the allegations and insinuations of Indian involvement in any attempted coup or plot in Pakistan as mischievous and reprehensible and not worthy of a formal contradiction.

In his reply to the 6-1/2 hour debate in the Lok Sabha on the External Affairs Ministry's demands for grants, he stressed that India's firm commitment to peace and promotion of good neighbourly relations with countries of the region precluded any such interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan.

For the third day in succession, the worsening security environment in the sub-continent in the wake of Pakistan's continued acquisition of sophisticated weapon systems figured in Parliament, reflecting India's growing concern at the new arms race brought about by the unfortunate U.S. bid to augment its military strength well beyond its legitimate defence requirements.

Mr. Narasimha Rao sought to allay the fears of members by pointing out that India was pursuing a two-pronged policy of "peace and preparedness" for seeking better relations with Pakistan, while remaining on the alert to face any possible threat to its security in this dangerous situation.

### No exaggeration

He refuted the charge that the Government was deliberately exaggerating the threat posed by Pakistan and whipping up a war psychosis with an eye on the next parliamentary elections. It was the duty of all parties to share this concern by rising above the rut of narrow political predilections and displaying the necessary unity in meeting such threats to the country's interests.

The External Affairs Minister said, in an obvious rebuttal of the charge levelled by the Janata leader, Mr. Biju Patnaik, (who has just returned from a visit to Islamabad along with Mr. George Fernandes) that India had not responded positively to the offer of a no-war pact, that the Government had tried to discuss, argue and convince Pakistan about the dangers of a large-scale acquisition of arms by it. Mr. Narasimha Rao blamed Islamabad for starting as well as escalating the current arms race in the sub-continent and forcing India into it much against the country's wishes since it had to be fully prepared to face this threat.

### Ties with neighbours

After dealing with Pakistan, Mr. Narasimha Rao made a wide-ranging survey of India's relations with other neighbouring countries, dealing with specific issues like the Farakka waters dispute and the attempts of Bangladesh to involve Nepal in it, the progress of the all-party efforts to resolve Sri Lanka's ethnic problems and the efforts under way to arrive at a comprehensive understanding with Nepal on the use of joint water resources.

At one stage, while speaking of the Tamils problem in Sri Lanka, he said there were some apprehensions that that country's President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, might adjourn the all-party round table conference *sine die* because of the absence of any basic accord on how to deal with the substantive aspects of the island's ethnic issues. "We are happy," he added, "that the process is on and has not been give up in desperation," alluding to the decision to adjourn the talks till the first week of May to enable the political parties to have further consultations.

He rejected a suggestion to appoint a Tamil-speaking High Commissioner to Sri Lanka, saying that envoys to various countries were posted on the basis of certain norms, not on the basis of language alone. The ethnic problems of Sri Lanka, he stressed, were "extremely complicated" and it would take a long time to find a widely acceptable solution.

As regards Stateless persons of Indian origin, the Minister said the latest position was that even those political parties in Sri Lanka which were hitherto disinclined to support the move to grant them citizenship rights, were now veering round to the view that this should be done. He welcomed this change in their attitude as something that augured well for resolving the ethnic problem in all aspects in due course with the goodwill and cooperation of all sections of political opinion.

After this comprehensive survey of the regional scene, Mr. Narasimha Rao turned to the general international situation. He spoke of the need for detente and disarmament, welcomed the peace movements in Europe and drew attention to the remarks of the former U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Robert McNamara, questioning the theory of a limited nuclear war and holding that the present NATO strategy posed a danger to western civilisation.

In a brief reference to the non-aligned movement, he praised the initiative of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in arranging the summit level consultations at the United Nations and also taking steps to work out the details of the proposed international conference on money and finance. He also referred to the efforts of the chairperson in upholding the cause of the Palestinian people and attempting to settle the Iraq-Iran conflict and end the crisis in Lebanon.

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## INDIA

### RAJIV REPORTEDLY CHOSE MOST CONGRESS-I CANDIDATES

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 21 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, March 20--There is now enough evidence to indicate that Mr Rajiv Gandhi, had a big say in the selection of a majority of the party nominees for the forthcoming Rajya Sabha elections.

It is being said in the party circles today that it was Sanjay Gandhi who made the selections for the 1980 general elections and now his elder brother has graduated to leadership.

It is likely that Mr Rajiv Gandhi prepared the lists at least for Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Assam and Manipal besides choosing a number of candidates from several other States.

#### Age and Health

Mr Kamalapati Tripathi, Congress (I) working president has not been chosen for a seat in the Rajya Sabha. It is known that he would not have liked to contest an election for the Lok Sabha (of which he is now a member) at his age and in his present state of health.

Mr A.P. Sharma and Mr Dinesh Singh, at one time big names in the party who wanted to be in the Rajya Sabha, have been kept out.

Mr K.C. Pant, Mr Rafiq Zakaria and Mr B.P. Maurya are among those who have not been renominated. Time was when their exclusion seemed inconceivable.

The question being asked is whether they would be asked to contest in the Lok Sabha elections when they are announced.

Five or six District Congress (I) Committee presidents and some Youth Congress (I) presidents and general secretaries from different States have been nominated.

The Rajya Sabha is regarded as the House of the Elders and the new House, with many young members, may appear somewhat different.

Some in the party are surprised, and there is resentment too. Privately, some even question Mrs Gandhi's judgment in leaving the selection to Mr Rajiv Gandhi at a time when the general elections are near and the "Opposition parties are ganging up to challenge her."

Many in the party think that "It is not prudent to cause discontent among the senior leaders in view of the coming elections."

It is also stated that decisions on matters like nomination are so vital that they should not have been taken "over and above the head of the central parliamentary board, particularly when this involves the candidature of the party's working president." Mr Tripathi, it is stated, finds the situation quite "embarrassing."

Loyalty has played the most important part in the award of nominations. Among those who have not been renominated are some who did not stand by Mrs Gandhi in 1978.

UNI and PTI add: Twelve of the 13 nominations for Rajya Sabha and 16 out of 18 for the Bihar Legislative Council elections were found valid on scrutiny in Patna today.

Nomination papers of all the seven candidates for the four vacancies from Orissa were declared valid today in Bhubaneswar.

The two nomination papers filed by Mr J.E. Tariat (Congress-I) sponsored by the ruling Meghalaya Democratic Front and Mr E.B. Lyngdoh, (All-Party Hill Leaders' Conference and the Hills State Peoples Democratic Party) for the lone Rajya Sabha seat from Meghalaya were found valid and accepted in Shillong today.

Nomination papers of all the five candidates for three Rajya Sabha seats from Assam were found valid today in Gauhati.

All the four nomination papers from Manipur for the Rajya Sabha were found valid today in Imphal.

CSO: 4600/1681

## CONSTITUTION'S PROVISIONS ON HINDUISM TO BE EXPLAINED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 16 Mar 84 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, March 15--The government is expected to launch a campaign to explain to the people the implications of article 25 of the constitution whose exclusion the Akalis are making an issue to develop a mass movement to arouse the communal sentiments of the Sikhs.

Official sources here today made it clear that the government would show no leniency to those who resorted to showing disrespect to the constitution as a method of protest. The Akali Dal has announced that its campaign for "mass burning" of article 25 will be launched on April 2.

The sources explained that by taking the issue to the streets, the Akalis were depriving themselves of an opportunity to raise a debate over it.

The Akalis could perhaps have earned the sympathy of all sections of opinion if they had tried to build up a favourable public opinion through discussion, it is pointed out.

### Reference to Sikhs

Legal advice obtained by the government has emphasised the basic aspects of the situation arising from the Akali demand. There is the supreme court decree that Parliament can amend every provision of the constitution "except those which formed its basic features."

Besides, an amendment can be made only by the prescribed majority in both houses of Parliament.

In the circumstances, it is pointed out, the only way open to the Akalis to get the constitution amended according to their wishes is to create a favourable public opinion.

In regard to the merits of the demand, it is explained that the fathers of the constitution were "very clear in their minds" about the separate identity of the Sikh religion and were, in fact, anxious to preserve it.

They, in fact, turned down various amendmenets moved which could have obliterated the differences in surface between the followers of different religions. There is, therefore, a particular mention made of the Sikh practice of carrying kirpans in explanation 1 of sub-clause (B). This right, conferred on the Sikhs, the state cannot take away.

Clause (1) of article 25 confers a fundamental right on all persons to profess, practice and propagate the religion of their choice; Clause (2) is an enabling provision to make laws, Sub-clause (A) relates to regulating or restricting secular activities associated with religious practices.

While no one appears to have any quarrel with sub-clause (A), the dispute is about sub-clause (B) under which laws can be made to provide for social welfare and reform and to throw open Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus.

The Akalis object to explanation II of article 25, which says that the reference to the Hindus shall be construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jain or Buddhist religion and the reference to Hindu religious institutions shall be construed accordingly.

In the words of the former chief justice of India, Mr P.B. Gajendragadkar, "Hinduism denotes a mere way of life and it is impossible to define or adequately describe it."

CSO: 4600/1677

## INDIA

### TIMES OF INDIA INTERVIEWS PAKISTAN'S AMBASSADOR

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 16 Mar 84 p 20

[Article by Anil Saxena]

[Text] Lucknow, March 15--The Pakistani ambassador in India, Mr Riaz Piracha, has made a strong plea for clearing up the cobwebs of mutual suspicion and misunderstanding between the two countries so that trust and cooperation could be developed.

He told "The Times of India" in an interview yesterday that the immediate task before both the countries was to restore confidence among the people so that a congenial atmosphere could be created for developmental activities in both countries. Without this, he added, people would suffer.

Mr Piracha said there was no talk of war in Pakistan. His country wanted peace and "we should all work to enlarge the areas of co-operation between the two countries."

He favoured bilateral co-operation and called for an urgent understanding of each other's political conditions and compulsions.

Asked whether the extremists in Punjab were being incited by Pakistan, Mr Piracha categorically denied this and asserted that it was against the principle of Pakistan to interfere in India's internal affairs.

#### Direct Dialing

He said that those who made such statements were doing a distinct disservice to both the countries.

There was need to have more meetings and to continue the present dialogue for understanding each other's problems and allowing things to calm down, the ambassador emphasised.

Mr Piracha said that on an average about 500 to 600 visas were being issued daily in Pakistan to enable people to visit their friends and relatives in this country. He wanted a tension-free atmosphere in the two countries to pave the way for more cultural exchanges.

By the end of the year, Mr Piracha said, work on the laying of coaxial cables would be completed and people on either side of the border would be able to communicate through the direct dialing system.

Mr Piracha dismissed the increasing military exercises on Pakistan's border as "routine affairs." He, however, evaded a question about the pumping of arms into the region by the superpowers. The envoy affirmed that his country was in favour of a no-war pact and hoped that the joint commission would be able to create mutual trust among the people of the sub-continent.

Through the commission, he added, efforts were being made to establish a machinery to ensure smooth working so that the existing cordial relations could be further cemented.

The Afghan problem, Mr Piracha said, burdened Pakistan with three million refugees. "One-fifth of Afghanistan's population is in Pakistan and we ardently desire a political settlement."

He, however, added that favourable circumstances should be created in Afghanistan to enable the refugees to return to their homes.

This was Mr Piracha's first visit to Lucknow, and what little he has seen of this city, redolent of history, has enthralled him.

Any message for the people of India? Mr Piracha responded with an Urdu couplet:

"Dil ka bigarna sahal sahi,  
Sambhalna sahal nahin zalim.  
Basti basaana khel nahim,  
Baste, baste bastee hai."

CSO: 4600/1677



INDIA

REPORTAGE ON DEVELOPMENTS IN PUNJAB SITUATION

Correspondent on Situation in Amritsar

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 16 Mar 84 p 9

[Article by K.S. Khosla]

[Text] Amritsar, March 15--Have the Sikh-Hindu relations in the holy city reached the point of no return? A three-day stay and discussions with many Sikh and Hindu leaders show that the situation is pretty bad and both communities have reached a blind alley, despite claims by official agencies. The situation can be compared to the lull before the storm. There are reasons for this grim assessment.

This correspondent, who has been coming here frequently for the last three years, has never found the Sikhs and the Akalis in particular, so bitter and angry as now. Their anguish is the direct consequence of the communal backlash in Haryana after the Hindu Suraksha Samiti's bandh on February 14.

Several Sikh leaders told me that they were expecting retaliation against Sikhs in Haryana but not in a mass organised form. They say that they would not have minded so much if Sikhs had been killed with bullets just as Hindus are being killed in Punjab. But what has happened in Haryana is worse than killing, they add.

They allege that all the eight Sikhs killed in Panipat were done to death with blunt-edged weapons. Not only were gurdwaras burnt but the hair of Sikhs were cut and their women humiliated.

The Akalis as well as Sant Jarnail Sing Bhindranwale's camp are boiling with anger over these incidents and they are talking of taking revenge. Some revenge has already been taken by extremists.

It is reliably learnt that a "suicide squad" has already left for Haryana to do away with a top Congress functionary.

## Akalis Sore

The Akalis are particularly sore with the national press for "unfair reporting." A top Akali leader told me that while happenings in Haryana were "suppressed or underplayed" by the national press, even minor incidents in Punjab were overplayed. He said: "What pained us most is that a national English daily has called Akalis stupid, morons and secessionists."

It is this "deep anguish" which made Sant Harchand Singh Longowal bring out a four-page pamphlet a few days ago in which he was justified the burning of article 25 of the constitution.

Narrating the history of the almost two-year-old morcha, Sant Longowal says towards the end: "I ask those who criticise us for burning article 25 (of) a constitution which does not protect the life and property of Sikhs, a constitution which does not recognise the Sikh religion as a separate entity, a constitution which permits any Bhajan Lal to put restrictions on the movement of Sikhs towards the capital of their country-- what alternative is left for them when they find the doors of Delhi permanently closed for them?" The Sant adds: "I want to make it clear that we accept the challenge given by Delhi through Bhajan Lal and the panth will give an appropriate reply soon."

This is only one side of the story. Hindus too, are bitter and anguished, and Hindu religious revivalism has already begun. First, Hindu suraksha Samitis were formed here and also in Jullundhur and Patiala. Then came the Hindu Sangathan with branches in several towns. This was followed by the joint bandh call given by the Hindu Suraksha Samiti and the Sangathan on February 14. The latest is the formation of a Hindu party in Jullundhur a few days ago, with the sole purpose of defending the Hindus.

Hindu leaders with whom this reporter talked are fed up with both the Akalis and the Congress as both the parties "are incapable of providing us protection."

The latest symbol of Hindu revivalism is the "trishul," just as the sword or the gun is the symbol of Sikh revivalism. This is not to say that Hindus do not want to use guns. More than 2,000 Hindus in the city are reported to have applied for gun or rifle licences and each case is being judged on merit. This shows the mood of the Hindus. They are no longer willing to take it lying down.

Mr P.C. Mehra, president of the Shastri market association, said that fear still reigned supreme, though outwardly it looked normal.

## Merchants Scared

Shops close early in the evening despite the fact that curfew has been lifted. The presence of the CRPF had made some difference but "the difficulty is we do not know what may happen tomorrow."

He alleged that the All-India Sikh Students' Federation was creating a new kind of terror by interfering with the day-to-day working of industries and threatening owners on telephone with dire consequences if their men were not employed. Mr Mehra alleged that they formed an Akali labour union.

All this was creating bad blood and could result in scaring away industrialists. Already, no new industry was being set up. Mr Mehra would not say whether the formation of the Hindu party was good or bad but added that Hindus had come to realise that no political party was interested in their welfare and that they would have to look after themselves.

Fear has gone deep into the psyche of the local Hindus and that is the chief cause of revivalism, hoping that religion may give them the same anchor as to the Akalis.

Mr Shyam Sunder Bhatia, another industrialist, said jewellers and shawl merchants had taken 70 percent of their goods from shops to their houses. Investors had stopped giving them credit. "Cash and carry" was now the mode of transaction. Mr Bhatia said that in local parlance it was called "jangi bandhi" (meaning warlike situation). This phrase is of recent coinage.

Asked what could salvage the situation, both Mr Mehra and Mr Bhatia said that unless the moderate Akalis came out openly against the killing of innocent persons, the Hindus would not feel safe. If they did so, they could even come to an understanding with them.

Sources close to Sant Longowal point out that Sant Bhindranwale is not a member of the Akali Dal and as such, not under their discipline. They could not ask him to go out of the Golden Temple as it is not the tradition of Sikhs to turn out a man from a gurdwara, which is a House of God.

Such is the situation. So where does one go from here? The Hindus feel there is no way out unless they form a united party of their own. Asked if there was a way out, Sant Longowal replied: "Only Wahguru will show the way."

Further asked how long the morcha would last, Sant Longowal became serious and said after a minute or so: "You have no idea of the capacity, patience and fortitude of the Sikhs. The morcha launched in the twenties for wresting control of gurdwaras from mahants lasted five years."

## Antiterrorist Drive To Continue

Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Mar 84 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 15.

The Centre is no longer contemplating any commando-type police action to flush out the extremists from the Golden Temple complex and seize the arms stored there.

The earlier plans for such a step have been abandoned in view of the slight improvement in the Punjab situation, but the idea itself has not been given up since the contingency arrangements made for this action are being kept intact just in case it becomes necessary to do so at some point in the event of renewed violence.

For the time being, the CRP deployed in strength around the Golden Temple complex will continue to check those entering or leaving the premises to ensure that no arms are taken into or brought out from there. The anti-terrorist operations in the rest of Punjab will be continued with vigorous patrolling of the affected areas followed by combing operations to track down the suspects.

The Government has also given up the earlier idea of imposing emergency in Punjab and Haryana, since the communal situation in the two States is under control at present. The current respite from ugly incidents is being utilised to involve the moderates from both communities in the peace campaign, while taking simultaneous administrative steps to tighten the police arrangements.

The Centre is at present more concerned about the sudden upsurge of insurgency in the North-Eastern region in the wake of the shocking incidents in Imphal, followed by minor incidents in some other places. The pattern for anti-insurgency operations in this area has been standardised over the year with adequate troops and para-military forces deployed at all sensitive points.

But the happenings in Banaglore continue to cause greater concern, since similar incidents could occur in other States with large resident communities from elsewhere. It is for this reason that the State Governments have been asked to be on the alert to deal with the activities of both politically motivated militants and anti-social elements bent on exploiting any tension.

CSO: 4600/1677

## FRENCH PERMISSION SOUGHT TO OPEN REUNION CONSULATE

Madras THE HINDU in English 17 Mar 84 p 6

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, March 16--As part of its diplomatic efforts to consolidate the country's influence in the Indian Ocean region, India is seeking permission from France to open a Consulate-General, or at least an honorary consulate for the present, in the Reunion Island adjoining Mauritius where 150,000 out of the 400,000 population is of Indian origin.

The first approach was made a few years back during the presidency of Mr Valery Giscard d'Estaing, but the former French Government took the stand that since the Reunion Island, like all overseas French territories, was a part of metropolitan France, there was no need for India to have a separate Consulate-General there.

Fresh Approach: Now a fresh approach has been made to the Government of President Francois Mitterrand. But it remains to be seen whether France will give the necessary permission. The discussions are taking place at the diplomatic level and if there is no positive response at the lower levels the issue will be taken up with Mr Mitterrand in due course.

The three Indian Ocean island States of Seychelles, Mauritius and Reunion are part of the same archipelago off the Madagascar coast. In Seychelles, the Indian community is relatively small, but in Mauritius it constitutes over 60 percent of the island's one million population. While Seychelles and Mauritius are independent States, Reunion is still a French possession.

About 150,000 of the 400,000 people in Reunion are of Indian origin hailing mostly from South India, but they are all French citizens who have been settled on the island for several generations. The prosperous ones among them visit India frequently like the Mauritians of Indian origin, and they would be happy to have an Indian Consulate-General there.

There are socialists of French origin in all the three islands who retain close political and emotional ties with France. The most prominent among them is Mr Paul Berenger of Mauritius, who as secretary-general of the Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM), spearheaded the spectacular electoral victory in 1982 but the coalition Government collapsed like the Janata in India, following serious internal differences.

Economic Union--Mr Berenger has close contacts with the former Foreign Minister of Seychelles, Mr Jacques Hodoul, and the Secretary of the communist party of Reunion, Mr Paul Verges. The three of them have been toying with the idea of organising an economic union of the three Indian Ocean island States as a prelude to a closer political association.

The Indian communities in the three island States naturally feel threatened by this move since they would lose much of their political influence if the prosperous French communities establish closer links and give a European orientation to their relations. It is in this context that the Indian move for opening a Consulate-General in Reunion has acquired some significance since it is the only island territory apart from Diego Garcia where India has no diplomatic presence to safeguard its political interests.

CSO: 4600/1681

## COMMERCE MINISTRY'S FAILURE TO COLLECT STATISTICS NOTED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 17 Mar 84 p 5

[Text]

The Committee on Government Assurances has expressed its unhappiness over the Commerce Ministry's failure to collect information even after a lapse of a very long period as to what specific items were being imported during a specific period and when these arrived in the country, reports PTL.

There have been major discrepancies in information and statistics being maintained by the various ministries/departments in this regard, the committee noted in its eighth report submitted to the Lok Sabha on Wednesday by its chairman, Mr Sontosh Mohan Dev.

It said evidence given to the committee and facts revealed during the study tour indicated that even after one and a half years of irregularities in import of stainless steel having come to the notice of Government, it could not get the correct statistics about the magnitude of the irregularities and loss to the exchequer as a result.

The committee felt that the Directorate General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, Calcutta, which was responsible for compiling statistics, from the daily trade returns submitted by the collectors of customs and others was not functioning properly and these statistics

were being published very late.

This sorry state of affairs could have "very serious ramifications" inasmuch as delay in availability of statistics could keep the Government and the country in dark about misuse of provisions in the import policy, the committee warned.

The committee has recommended that the whole system of collection, compilation and relay of data should be streamlined urgently.

It noted in this connection that various expert examinations have already been conducted to streamline the process and that the last such examination had revealed the necessity of mechanisation of the tabulation of data but it had not been possible to introduce mechanisation because of resistance of the staff.

The committee hoped that Government would take immediate steps to resolve the differences between the staff and management in this regard and mechanise or computerise the whole process as early as possible so that latest statistics about imports were available within a reasonable time and it might not have to resort to giving assurances when questions seeking information about these matters were asked.

CSO: 4600/1682

USTINOV SAID TO HAVE COME WITH BRIEF ON AFGHANISTAN

Madras THE HINDU in English 18 Mar 84 p 12

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 17.

There has been a marked hardening of the Soviet attitude on Afghanistan in recent months and Moscow is no longer talking even privately of a possible withdrawal in due course as it used to do in the past, according to well informed observers here.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, said the other day that Afghanistan was "mentioned" during Marshal Dmitri Ustinov's talk with her, but she did not disclose what he told her about the latest Soviet stand on it.

At one stage, a routine mention used to be made by the top Soviet leaders during such discussions about Moscow's commitment to withdraw after fulfilling its treaty obligation to protect Afghanistan from foreign subversion. But, lately, even this routine formality has been dispensed with and the Soviet leaders have been trying to avoid even a mention of the Afghan problem.

**Direct dialogue:** The U.N. Secretary-General's special envoy, Mr. Diego Cordovez, is due to visit next month Islamabad, Kabul and, if possible, Teheran as well in an effort to get the stalled dialogue restarted for exploring the possibilities of a peaceful settlement. The hardening of the Soviet attitude is reflected by the renewed insistence of the Babrak Karmal regime on a direct dialogue between Afghanistan and Pakistan, instead of engaging in indirect talks through the U.N. Secretary-General's representative.

But the Kabul regime has not refused to receive Mr. Cordovez if he goes to Afghanistan after his discussions in Islamabad with the Pakistan Government. It will agree to talk to him while continuing to press for a direct dialogue with Pakistan on the basis of the previously specified pre-conditions.

The Babrak Karmal Government continues to insist, obviously with Soviet concurrence, that Pakistan should first refrain from allowing its territory to be used by the U.S. and other hostile powers to secretly send out Afghan rebels to carry on guerilla warfare. It has also been urging that any accord reached between Islamabad and Kabul should be underwritten jointly by Moscow and Washington either independently or by all the five permanent members of the Security Council.

**No serious exchanges:** Strangely enough, there have been no serious political exchanges at the highest level between India and the Soviet Union either on regional or international issues, other than the on-going discussions on defence cooperation since Mrs. Gandhi's last visit to Moscow in Sept. 1982, before Brezhnev's demise. Her brief meeting with Yuri Andropov at the time of Brezhnev's funeral dealt primarily with the mutual desire for closer bilateral relations.

But when Mrs. Gandhi met the new Soviet leader, Mr. Konstantin Chernenko, last month at the time of Andropov's funeral, he read out a three-page statement on Indo-Soviet relations without touching on any other issue of consequence. So, in the last two and half years, the only opportunity she has had to talk of the Afghan problem was during her recent meeting with Marshal Ustinov, who had evidently come with a proper brief from Moscow on the subject.

There is little that India could do in this situation either to persuade Pakistan to shed its inhibitions and talk directly to the Babrak



Karmal regime to find a reasonable solution, or use its influence with Moscow to take some steps to resolve this tangle and withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. The Soviet Union, on its part, has made it known to all concerned that any settlement brought about through bilateral discussions between Pakistan and Afghanistan, or the use of U.N. good offices, must be on the basis of a general acceptance of the existing realities in Afghanistan.

It is against this background that the Soviet Government has been stressing once again in diplomatic conversations that it is fully committed to supporting the present revolutionary regime to the hilt. The implication of this firm reaffirmation is that there can be no negotiated settlement of the Afghan problem, or subsequent Soviet withdrawal, unless the world is prepared to accept and acknowledge this reality without undue reservations.

CSO: 4600/1683

## NO PROGRESS SEEN IN WORK OF NONALIGNED MOVEMENT

Madras THE HINDU in English 18 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 17.

There is both concern and disappointment in non-aligned circles that the community has not been able to take any major initiative in the last one year since the Delhi summit, either to resolve disputes among member-countries or focus attention on international issues of wider importance.

The expression of this disquiet is not intended to be an implied criticism of India's current chairmanship of the movement, since it is meant to be a sort of plea for introspection by the whole community to make itself more effective in the changing circumstances.

It is bad enough for the non-aligned community to be unable to intercede in the Iraq-Iran war or the tragic events in Lebanon because of sharp dissensions among the members of the movement. It is worse still that on an issue like racialism in southern Africa on which the entire movement stands united and has been speaking with one voice the U.S. has been able to neatly bypass the non-aligned community and involve Angola and Mozambique in a direct dialogue with South Africa over the heads of other front-line States.

**Intention:** The understanding that South Africa has reached with Angola and Mozambique not to allow their territories to be used for any insurgent activities directed against one another is primarily intended to prevent the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) and the African National Congress (ANC) from stepping up pressures on its apartheid regime. It will also impede the capacity of the Southern African countries from exerting collective pressures on South Africa to grant freedom to Namibia, the last remaining colonial outpost in this vast continent.

The one and only major initiative that the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, has taken since she became chairperson of the non-aligned movement was to call for summit level consultations on global issues

at the U.N. during the last General Assembly session. Though the response was rather poor, the initiative did serve a useful purpose in creating a better awareness of the need for a concerted approach to bring about a more equitable international economic order, while intensifying the campaign for disarmament, detente and peace.

**Other moves:** There were three other moves since the Delhi summit, which have not succeeded in generating much enthusiasm even within the non-aligned movement. The meeting of foreign ministers that was called to consider the Sri Lanka President's proposal for sending out representative groups of heads of Government to the capitals of big powers to discuss global problems ended without any consensus on how the community should proceed to implement the suggestion. Similarly, the move for a small summit level group to promote actively the Palestinian causes proved to be a non-starter despite preliminary discussions on it.

But some progress has been made by the official level group that has been entrusted with the task of defining the purpose and scope of the proposed international conference on money and finance for development, which has been viewed with disfavour by the Western powers as an attempt to replace the Bretton Woods institutions. But otherwise the non-aligned community has not been able to do much in the last one year to press forward with its plea for wider North-South dialogue.

**Coordination bureau meetings:** It is considered equally unfortunate that there has been no move for a ministerial meeting of the coordination bureau, which continues to meet only at the level of permanent representatives at the U.N. A bureau meeting of foreign ministers cannot by itself bring about a dramatic breakthrough on any contentious issue, but it helps at least to make the non-aligned countries more aware of the imperative need for unity in facing their collective responsibilities or pursuing their common aspirations.

CSO: 4600/1683

## GROWTH IN INDO-JAPANESE COOPERATION NOTED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 19 Mar 84 p 8

[Text]

Indo-Japanese bilateral economic cooperation, which till some years ago was on a low key has gathered a sharp momentum in the last couple of years with the entry of well known international giants like Toyota and Suzuki into India's industrial scene, reports, PTI.

According to available statistics, out of the 7600 industrial collaborations approved by the Indian Government between 1957 and September 1983, Japan accounted for nearly 660. But the collaborations since 1982 have acquired a new dimension with increasing Japanese participation in technical and financial areas.

While the benefits of such collaboration have been generally appreciated by the Indian partners, the "quality of management culture," "dedication to work," "the uniforms and company song" continue to be built into the collaboration agreement whether new or old.

Except for an odd case at Mandya near Bangalore, where the Indo-Japanese agricultural extension centre is situated, the Indo-Japanese ventures like the Indo-National Limited, makers of 'Nippo' batteries, at Tada and Nellore in Andhra Pradesh, Nellore thermal power station of Andhra Pradesh State Electricity Board, VST tillers and tractors and the Hindustan Machine Tool's watch factory at Bangalore all speak of the success of Indo-Japanese collaboration.

A recent observations tour of these units by a group of journalists from New Delhi showed a remarkable degree of adaptation of Japanese culture by the Indian partners.

The two units of the Indo-National Limited, the new one at Tada and an old one at Nellore, launched with the collaboration of Japan's electronic giant, Matsushita electric industrial company, has made a mark for itself among the country's leading producers of dry battery cells.

While the Nellore unit of Indo-National Limited commenced production in 1973, the new unit at Tada began commercial production in 1979. The turnover of the company, in which the Matsushita electric industrial company has 40 per cent equity, has risen steadily over the years from Rs 20 million to over Rs 3200 million in 1983.

The production dry battery cells of a total of 10 companies in the country with 16 plants rose from 805 million pieces in 1978 to 1070 million pieces in 1983. During the same period the Indo-national rolled out 58 million and 163 million pieces respectively. According to the Managing Director of the company, Mr Obul Reddy, the growth of the company is reflected in its market share rising from 7.2 per cent in 1978 to nearly 16 per cent today.

## Sharing

Mr Reddy said the speciality of the collaboration was that any new technological development that took place in dry battery cell production in Japan, it was always passed on to them. It was because of such an encouraging exchange of new developments from Matsushita, that the two have entered into a yet another collaboration for making mid-gate electrodes or carbon rods at Tada.

According to Mr Reddy, at present only the US multinational Union Carbide, makers of Eveready batteries, manufacture the vital Carbon rods in the country. But with the entry of Indo-Matsushita Carbon Company (IMCC), a collaboration between Indo-National and Matsushita of Japan, the full requirement of Carbon rods in the country would be met domestically obviating need for imports. Carbon rod is one of the most important components in a dry cell battery and is used in the battery to collect the electricity from inside and transmit it to positive terminal outside and also check electrolyte penetration.

Presently the import of Carbon rods into the country from Taiwan costs about Rs five crores a year, IMCC's unit at Tada will have capacity of 800 million Carbon rods a year and will cost Rs 68 million. The equity structure of the company consists of Rs 6.6 million from the promoters, Rs 10 million from Matsushita of Japan, Rs 8.2 million from the public and the balance of Rs 43 million from ICICI and IDBI, inclusive of the foreign loan of Rs 14 million.

Mr Reddy said the Carbon rod factory at Tada which has the world's longest baking kiln channel, will start trial production in April 1984 and full scale production before the end of this year.

As regards the dry battery cells, he was optimistic that the production would reach 180 million pieces and the turnover crossing Rs 3700 million in the current calendar year.

The Nippo batteries which are now exported to USSR, are the first in India to have metal covering to give long life to cells. The capacity of the company would be raised to 300 million soon, he said. The quality of production is always under constant check with the presence of a Japanese technical director at the factory.

Against this recent collaboration, the two decades old Nellore thermal power station, the first officially sponsored Yen credit project set up with technical collaboration from Hitachi company, is yet another venture of its kind which has stood the test of time.

The 30 MW plant, commissioned in May 1965 and whose vital equipments like boilers, turbines, coal and ash handling were supplied by Hitachi company, has continued to show a satisfactory level of operation with plant load factor touching 54 per cent. According to a spokesman of the plant, while supply of spares did cause concern at times, there was never really any problem from the principals.

He said the delay in supply of spares was understandable because the principal collaborator, Hitachi, did not any more make the same kinds of equipments and as such Nellore thermal plant's requests for spares were treated as special ones. In this context, He pointed out that when the thermal station was shut down for two years beginning May 1980, it was the experts from Hitachi who put it in order again and supplied an improved efficiency rotor. In fact the original turbine rotor served for nearly 18 years, he said.

The VST tillers and tractors at Bangalore has a different story to relate. According to the Man-

aging Director of the company, Mr V T Velu, the problems faced by the tiller industry were more due to the country's paddy growing techniques than anything else.

He said the VST tillers and tractors set up with technical and financial collaboration from Mitsubishi heavy industries of Japan, commenced commercial production in December 1970. But soon things went wrong and the unit was on the verge of closure. It was in 1978 a new package deal was introduced with Mitsubishi supplying a wide range of new equipments on credit to revive the company. The present performance, according to Mr Velu, was quite encouraging and the company has entered a new collaboration with Mitsubishi for the manufacture of tractors.

The Indo-Japanese Agricultural Extension Training Centre at Mandya near Bangalore is one odd case where even after the expiry of the collaboration agreement in 1975, the Indian partners continue to look towards the Japanese for the successful continuation of the demonstration.

The Centre was started in 1962 with the help of Japanese experts and equipments like tillers, plant protection spraying machines, combine harvesters etc. The research farm spread over 12 acres, before the application of Japanese techniques had a productivity of five quintals per acre.

According to the officials at the Centre, the productivity now averaged 19 quintals. With lack of spares, already 10 out of the 12 power tillers imported from Japan are lying idle besides numerous other farm implements, they said local replacements were not suitable. There was another problem which related to the attitude of the farmers who after witnessing the demonstration, resorted to traditional methods of farming.

CSO: 4600/1685

## LOW R &amp; D EXPENDITURE WIDENS TECHNOLOGY GAP

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 19 Mar 84 p 5

[Text]

The relative smallness of big industrial houses in India is largely responsible for low expenditure on research and development, resulting in widening technology gap, according to a study conducted by FICCI on means of updating technology, reports UNI.

Though India's R and D expenditure has grown substantially from Rs 4.7 million in 1950-51 to Rs 7,261 million in 1980-81, it is still very small compared to other developed countries. In absolute terms, it amounted to 0.6 per cent of the GNP in 1980-81 while in the United States of America and Japan it was 2.5 and 1.9 per cent respectively. The expenditure in the USA and Japan in 1979 was 72 and 20.3 times that of India's. France, the UK and West Germany also spent between 10 to 16 times more than India on R and D.

The study attributes the halting nature of technology imports and inadequate generation of technology within the country to small turnover of Indian companies whether they are in the public or the private sector.

Significantly, the ratio between the turnover of the biggest Indian company and that of the biggest foreign company works out to be 1:22 in petroleum; 1:6.7 in steel, 1:50 in chemicals; 1:32

in rubber; 1:154 in electronics appliances; 1:9.6 in industrial and transport sector; and 1:24 in electrical equipment. Only 142 out of 562 units in the private sector could spend in 1980-81, Rs 25 lakhs or more on R and D, 18 of them spending more than Rs one crore.

The study suggests that areas should be demarcated where R and D should be undertaken more immediately, indicating also how much of available resources should be used for importation and how much for domestic generation.

According to the study, the traditional industries like textiles, sugar, jute as well as cottage and small industry sector, should receive top priority in upgradation of technology.

Some other important suggestions are: off-loading part of research by the Government in favour of the private sector; compulsory R and D back-up for foreign technology imports, proper linkages between CSIR and its laboratories on one hand and user organisations or the firms on the other, and inducing foreign companies to contract research to Indian firms as part of the technology transfer package.

CSO: 4600/1685

## EFFORTS TO EXPLORE NEW MARKETS IN AFRICA RENEWED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 19 Mar 84 p 2

[Text]

India is making renewed efforts to explore new markets in Africa and introduce new products in the existing markets in the wake of the recent business setbacks suffered by it in the African countries, reports PTI.

While India's export trade registered a notable expansion in the recent years, actual exports to Africa were barely Rs 397 crores in 1982-83 as against Rs 474 crores in the previous year. Out of India's total exports, trade with Africa accounted for only 4.6 per cent in 1982-83 as compared to 7.1 per cent in 1974-75.

Concerned with the declining export trend, the Commerce Ministry has come up with what is called the "Africa plan" with a view to augmenting exports to the African countries, according to the credit information review of the Reserve Bank of India.

As a follow up of the Africa plan, the standing committee on export finance has appointed a sub-group. The sub-group has found that African countries offered opportunities with good potential either because they have had a traditional market with India or were large masses which were bound to emerge as important pockets for development in future.

The recommendations of the sub-group, which includes exten-

sion of bank credit for boosting India's exports, have been passed on by the Reserve Bank of India to all banks authorised to deal in foreign exchange.

Since quite a few of the African countries have chronic balance of payments difficulties, the report of the sub-group says, it is necessary to export goods to them at longer than present norm of 180 days credit.

It says that extension of credit beyond the normal period of 180 days should be permitted very selectively either when a market in Africa, south of Sahara, is to be newly penetrated or when an existing market in that area needs to be retained and fortified in the face of stiff competition.

The ultimate test, the report notes, would be whether the use of this "sensitive credit weapon" results in significant increase in India's exports to the targeted areas on a long-term basis.

The report stresses that exporters with proven record of export performance and their familiarity with the region should be given priority.

However, the report says that "no distinction should be made between manufacturer-exporters and merchant-exporters so long as it is ensured that they have established a reputation for exporting quality

goods acceptable to overseas buyers".

While an established export house should be a factor for consideration, selection should not be limited to export houses.

Perishable goods, the report says, should be outside the framework of the arrangement and not more than 60 days should be given for realisation of sales proceed in their case.

In case of goods like pharmaceuticals, transport spares, leather garments and readymade cotton and other garments, suppliers' credit not more than 180 days should be considered because of their short shelf-life and changing fashions.

The report warns that extension of credit more than 180 days should be undertaken on a case-by-case basis and should be resorted to 'carefully'.

In negotiating the payment terms with the targeted countries, the report says, Indian exporters should secure at least a portion of the export proceeds and only the balance be made eligible for longer credit of 270 days or 365 days as the case may be.

Shorter credit terms should be given priority over those offering longer credit terms for the same type of goods and markets, the report adds.

CSO: 4600/1685

## EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTRY ANNUAL REPORT SUMMARIZED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 20 Mar 84 p 1

[Text]

The induction into Pakistan of weapons "of sophistication hitherto unknown in the subcontinent" poses serious security problems for India and would force it to go in for "matching acquisitions", the External Affairs Ministry has said.

In its annual report, the ministry has noted that the weapons being acquired by Islamabad from the US and other sources upsets the existing military balance not only between India and Pakistan, but that in the entire South Asian region. But despite this disturbing development, India is persevering in its efforts at normalisation of relationships between the two countries, the report said.

India had followed a policy of friendship and cooperation with Pakistan and had also made several proposals for increasing the area of understanding. The annual report also surveyed India's efforts to expand its ties with other neighbouring countries.

On India's efforts to improve relations with China, the report says that at the last official-level meeting on the boundary question, "An attempt was initiated by the two sides to evolve a mutually-agreed set of principles to serve as guidelines for future discussions."

It expressed India's deep concern over the ethnic violence in Sri Lanka in which Indian nationals and Tamils of Indian origin suffered heavy casualties and loss of property. "India offered its good offices to President J R Jayewardene to facilitate a viable political settlement." The Indian offer was accepted and efforts were on to find a "satisfactory solution" the report added.

Referring to India's good relations with Bangladesh in the political and economic fields, the report noted that an agreement on sharing of Teesta waters was signed during the year.

Discussions were also continuing on the augmentation of the Ganga waters at Farakka and on the large-scale infiltration of people from Bangladesh into India.

The report says India had been seeking to en-

large areas of cooperation with Nepal, Bhutan, Burma and the Maldives.

The report noted that "there was sustained improvement in Indo-American relations notwithstanding the differences in perceptions on a number of regional and global questions." The Indo-US joint commission and its sub-commissions held several meetings during the year.

The report said "India's friendly and cordial relations with the Soviet Union and other East European countries developed satisfactorily during the year". Indo-Soviet trade and economic cooperation expanded, with Soviet Union remaining India's leading trading partner.

The year also witnessed further consolidation of political and economic relations between India and Western Europe.

**West Asia concern**

The report expressed deep concern over developments in West Asia, particularly the continuing conflict in northern Lebanon. It noted India's initiative as chairperson of the non-aligned movement for bringing about a durable peace in the region.

It also regretted that the Iran-Iraq war continued despite sustained efforts for peace.

The report referred to India's "excellent" relations with the Arab states of West Asia and North Africa.

India took several major steps in 1983 on vital economic issues affecting developed and developing countries. The successive summit meetings of the nonaligned and the Commonwealth held in New Delhi during the year focussed attention on economic crises facing the world, particularly the developing countries.

The report noted that India played host to the first-ever meeting of Foreign Ministers of seven South Asian countries on regional economic cooperation.

The report said India maintained friendly relations with South East Asian countries.

## INDIA, FINLAND TO EXPAND TRADE TIES

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 20 Mar 84 p 6

[Text]

India and Finland have resolved to expand and strengthen bilateral trade relations and explore areas of co-operation in high technology and industry.

Finnish Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen, who arrived in the Capital on Monday at the head of a high level delegation, had discussions with External Affairs Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao. Mr Rao was assisted by Minister of State A.A. Rahim and senior officials. The annual trade of Rs 38 crore is entirely in Finland's favour.

The talks have covered ground in exploring new areas of co-operation — including the possibility of transfer of high technology to India, and identifying possible exports from India. The two Ministers have also discussed the international political and security situation during which both sides expressed deep concern at the danger of a nuclear war at a time when tensions have risen and danger of confrontation increased.

This was reflected in the statements that the two Ministers gave to newsmen at the airport on Mr Vayrynen's arrival, and later at the speeches at the banquet that Mr Rao hosted in honour of the visiting Finnish leader.

At the airport, Mr Vayrynen said it was a great pity that the Geneva talks had broken down. The super-powers, he hoped, would soon return to the negotiation table in the interest of mankind. His country, which was neutral, shared many views with India, the leader of the non-aligned movement, he said.

Mr Vayrynen will call on Mrs Indira Gandhi on Tuesday. The Prime Minister was in Finland last year, a visit hailed as an important one.

Speaking at a dinner, Mr Rao underlined the need to build a better climate of international understanding and removal of mistrust and suspicions in view of rising dangers of global confrontations.

Mr Rao expressed admiration for the unceasing efforts of Finland in the cause of detente, disarmament and peace in which the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was a "landmark". Finland's policy of "active neutrality" has been a significant factor in the cause of peace and stability in your region and in Europe", he said. He welcomed in this connection Finland's association with the non-aligned movement of which it is a guest member.



FRANCE UNDISTURBED BY SOVIET OFFERS TO INDIA

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Mar 84 p 9

[Article by K.N. Malik]

[Text] London, March 20--France is not unduly perturbed by the Soviet offer of sophisticated defence equipment, including the latest versions of the MiG aircraft, to India. It feels India's requirements for defence are so vast that they will in no way preclude the possibility of its going ahead with the second phase of Mirage-2000.

India has placed an order for 40 Mirage-2000 multi-role aircraft which it will start receiving from next year. In addition, it has the option for 110 more aircraft, about 20 to be assembled in India and the rest produced indigenously. India has to give its firm decision by June.

After the Soviet defence minister's visit to India and the announcement of a broad-based defence package for the Indian armed forces, fears were expressed in some circles that India might have decided to stick to the Soviets for its defence needs. The basis for such fears was that India would find it difficult to buy the most modern equipment and technology at a cost it could not afford and without jeopardising its non-aligned status.

The equipment it wanted also required direct or indirect clearance from the NATO authorities. The price asked was also exorbitant and the terms and conditions for the credit were not considered favourable.

This position, however, is not accepted by the French officials, nor by Dassault-Breguet, the manufacturers of Mirage-2000. They feel that India is still keen on acquiring sophisticated technology from the West so that it can fully develop its capability for indigenous defence systems and equipment. Since the French supply of equipment or technology does not need clearance from the NATO powers, France will be able to offer the advanced technology it possesses on the most advantageous terms.

In view of the excellent Indo-French relations and the present French government's desire to help India develop its indigenous capabilities, Indo-French cooperation in this field should in no way compromise India's desire not to tie up its defence needs to any particular bloc of nations.

French officials feel that India needs to replace about 450 frontline combat aircraft. Among the modern aircraft it has acquired are the British Jaguar and 40 Mirage-2000s. Even after buying the MiG-29s or the MiG-31s, it would still need many more aircraft; hence the possibility of India going ahead with its option for assembling and producing 110 Mirage-2000s.

The programme, according to French sources, offers three main advantages. First, the political advantage of developing non-Soviet alternative defence sources. Secondly, acquiring equipment and sophisticated technology from a country like France, which is not dependent on clearances from any quarters, will not halt the supply of spare parts in the event of sanctions by the superpowers; thirdly, France is not only offering defence equipment but also a wide range of industrial cooperation which will help develop the Indian aerospace industry to a point that it can compete with the most modern technology.

In the airframe field, these technologies to structural integral fuel tank production, fully machined main frames and wing attachment fittings, deep chemical milling around the jet engine area and components made from high-modulus composite materials. Since titanium is used in the Mirage airframe and engines, India will acquire the know-how to use this important material.

In the metallurgical field, Indian industry will acquire the know-how to use steel technology which can be useful for future aircraft production. In the electronic field, the Mirage will be the first aircraft produced by the Indian aerospace industry featuring a complete digital navigation and attack system. The Mirage fly-by-wire electrical flight control systems would also be a first for the Indian aerospace industry.

Besides the Mirage aircraft, France is also negotiating with India for the supply of Super-Puma helicopters for offshore oil rigs and state duties. Here, the competition is mainly between the French Aero Spatiale Super-Puma and the British Westland 30s. India had earlier purchased Westland Sea Kings for its navy in preference to Exocet missiles fitted Super-Pumas.

There has been a significant increase in Indo-French cooperation in the defence field since signing the memorandum of understanding in 1982. The agreement offered training and study facilities to Indian air force officers in French institutes of defence. A large number of scientists and engineers from India have already visited France to update their knowledge on high technology and modern materials.

CSO: 4600/1688

## INDO-FRENCH TRADE GROUP OPTIMISTIC ABOUT FUTURE

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 20 Mar 84 p 9

[Article by Ramesh Chandran]

[Text]

Paris, March 19: Despite protectionist barriers in India, linguistic impediments and the devalued franc, which has escalated the costs of importing French equipment, the prospects for Indo-French trade looks encouraging.

This is the somber scenario outlined by a new private body, the Franco-Indian Economic Association (FIEA), which was founded here last November. The FIEA seeks to play multiple roles: To function as an information centre on economic and financial issues relating to Indo-French trade, to organise meetings and seminars; to energize the "economic rapport" prevailing between the two countries and ultimately to stimulate the process of gradually bringing the "two countries closer."

Speaking at a news conference, the association's president, Mr Francis Dore, a former ambassador, an honorary professor at the JNU, New Delhi and author of several books on India said, existing problems and lacunae were neither irremediable nor intractable for there are "positive elements for the future" such as the excellent spirit of kinship between Paris and New Delhi, the amplified cooperation in the defence sector and the increasing number of financial protocols, which were being signed.

The argument here is that

there ought to be no illusions about the existing level of Indo-French trade: India accounted for a woeful 0.59 per cent of France's international trade in 1982 while France's exports to India were about 1.92 per cent and imports were about 1.81 per cent in 1982. If Indian crude and petroleum products and certain purchases in the aeronautical sector were excluded from these statistics, commerce between the two countries had made painful progress if not actually stagnated. India's exports to France have traditionally centered on (A) textiles, apparel and skins (35 to 40 per cent), (B) agricultural and consumer produce (20 to 25 per cent) and (C) pearls, semi-precious and precious stones (12 to 14 per cent).

Products normally exported from France to India have revolved around (A) machine tools and transport equipment (40 per cent), (B) iron and steel products (23 per cent) and chemicals and fertilisers (12 per cent). Despite the depth and range of these fields, collaboration between the two countries have not flown high.

Out of the total 7,211 projects of technical and industrial collaboration approved by the government of India between 1957 and 1982, just 347 or 4.8 per cent were French, trailing behind Great Britain, the United States, West Germany, Japan and

Switzerland.

Despite such psychological blocks and other snags what with some projects floundering in the bureaucratic quagmire, the FIEA is optimistic about the future. Recent developments like the contracts for sale of equipment signed in 1981 and 1982 (1300 million and 1800 million francs respectively) between India and France augurs well for trade. Besides the positive effects of the recent Indian trend towards liberalisation of the economy, better identification of possible fields of collaboration such as the electronics industry, oil refinery equipment, audio-magnetic material and in agriculture and consumer produce, is bound to accelerate this healthy process.

The "remarkable level of collaboration" between leading French firms and the Indian public sector for exchange of advanced technology such as Thomson CSF and Bhel, CIT-Alcatel and ITI, Bangalore, PUK and Nalco, etc are being seen as spearheads of what could be highly promising endeavour for the future. The recent visit of the influential CNPF delegation to India last month was also considered fruitful. It sought to specify areas for possible joint ventures between India and France in third countries such as in Africa and the Middle East.

## BRIEFS

PERMANENT ANTARCTICA STATION--Port Louis, March 21 (PTI)--India is the first country to have successfully set up a permanent station on the Antarctica and as a result, India will be able to have direct communication link with the base camp, according to Dr Harish Gupta, leader of the third Indian expedition team to Antarctica. Addressing a press conference here on Tuesday at the Indian high commission chancellery, Dr Gupta said he was satisfied with the performance of his team members who worked tirelessly to finish the job of setting up a permanent station in a short span of three months. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 22 Mar 84 p 9]

NEW GODIVARI FRIGATE--Bombay, March 19--The third and last of the Indian-designed and built "Godavari" class frigate for the Indian Navy was launched at Mazagon Dock here today. The Godavari class frigates, an adapted version of the Leander class of frigates, have been built with the co-operation of the public and private sector units in the country within the time and cost schedules. The Godavari class frigates have a larger hull and a more sophisticated weapon package than the Leander frigates. The construction of three Godavari class frigates within the last eight years is considered a significant achievement by the design and manufacturing sectors of the country. The frigate that was launched today is named "Gomti" and she will be commissioned in 1986. INS "Godavari" has already been commissioned and "Ganga" which was launched recently is expected to be commissioned in 1985. This class of frigate has powerful surface-to-surface missiles for the first time in a ship designed and built in India. There will also be sophisticated surface-to-air missiles and fast automatic anti-aircraft guns, long-range anti-submarine homing torpedoes and intricate electronic warfare equipment. The ship is capable of operating two large helicopters with hangar facilities. [Excerpts] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 20 Mar 84 p 3]

SOVIET RELIGIOUS LEADERS--New Delhi, March 19 (UNI)--A three-member delegation of Soviet religious leaders arrived here today. The delegation has come to India on the invitation of the Friends of the Soviet Union Society to take part in a conference "religious people for peace and against nuclear holocaust" to be held at Trivandrum on March 22 and in Madras on March 24. The delegation, comprising the Archbishop of Krasnodar and Kuban Russian Orthodox Churches, chairman of the central board of Buddhists, and deputy chairman of board of Muslims in central Asia, will meet leaders of different religions and discuss with them the role of religion in safeguarding peace and friendship between the peoples. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 20 Mar 84 p 4]

EXPULSED SOVIET DIPLOMAT--New Delhi, March 19 (PTI)--Dr Bhai Mahavir (BJP) demanded in the Rajya Sabha today a statement from the external affairs minister on the reported expulsion of a Soviet diplomat from India on charges of spying. In a special mention, Dr Bhai Mahavir said the Soviet diplomat was allegedly caught red-handed while receiving secret information from an official of the foreign office here. The BJP member also drew the government's attention to the reports, which he said were circulated by the Soviet news agency Tass, regarding the execution of two Soviet officials. The executed officials, Dr Bhai Mahavir said, were in charge of promoting trade with other countries including India and had visited New Delhi on several occasions. He wanted the government to find out the name of the Indian alleged to be in league with the executed Soviet officials. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 20 Mar 84 p 5]

INVESTMENTS IN GULF--Bahrain, March 19 (PTI)--Ten projects involving Gulf investments of Rs 1300 crores, has been approved by the government of India. The projects, to be located in various parts of India, will be in the agriculture sector and in the cement industry, it was learnt here yesterday. The Indian government has also approved 39 joint ventures in medium and small sector and 500 more investment projects are under consideration. The projects, apart from generating greater employment opportunities, will provide investment opportunities for surplus capital in the Gulf and channelise earnings of non-resident Indians back home. A fertiliser plant is already coming up in Uttar Pradesh over 2,000 tonnes of ammonia and 67,000 tonnes of urea per month. Meanwhile, the Indian Investment Centre at Abu Dhabi, in United Arab Emirates (UAE) has organised a two-day seminar at which 200 representatives of leading industrialists of Qatar are expected to participate. The seminar begins today. According to the director of the centre, the seminar, to be inaugurated by the president of the Qatar Chamber of Commerce, will be addressed by investment experts and tax consultants from India. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 20 Mar 84 p 6]

CSO: 4600/1703

LEADER'S PLEA TO SET UP NATIONAL GOVERNMENT TO HOLD ELECTIONS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 12 Mar 84 p 8

[Text] Attock, March 11--Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, former spokesman of the opposition in the National Assembly, has demanded setting up of a national government having sincere leaders belonging to different political parties so that free and fair elections may be held and power shifted to the elected representatives of the people.

Talking to local newsmen in village Salar near here, Sardar Shaukat ruled out the possibility of the proposed broad-based alliance of political parties and remarked that the new alliance will not be fruitful for any one.

He said that in our short history we have experienced four alliances which divided the nation instead of solving the problems. He said that the only solution to the prevailing situation was that power should be shifted to the patriotic politicians for an interim period to hold general elections.

Sardar Sahib said that it will be difficult for him and Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana to attend the Muslim League Convention to be held in Lahore on March 23 because Pir Pagara had ignored their point of view that non-Muslim Leaguers should not be invited to the Convention.

Commenting on G.M. Sayed's refusal to attend the League Convention, Sardar Shaukat Hayat said that G.M. Sayed was removed from League by the Qaid-e-Azam himself. He bitterly criticised the party high command for inviting such a person to League Convention.

Sardar Shaukat Hayat said that he would adopt his future line of action after consulting Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Daultana.

Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan said that only three close associates of late Qaid-e-Azam are alive and they are Hussain Imam, Mian Mumtaz Daultana and he himself. Sardar Shaukat further said that if Daultana and Shaukat will not remain in the League fold then there will be no League.--PPI

CSO: 4600/461

LEADER'S RE-ENTRY INTO POLITICS CRITICIZED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 12 Mar 84 p 4

[Article in "Private View" column by Khalid Hasan: "Hanif Ramay's One-Horse Race"]

[Text] I have often wondered what sends people into politics. After all, there are far more pleasant occupations in life than the pursuit of elusive public office.

Take Mr Mohammad Hanif Ramay, for instance. What is his problem? He used to be a reasonably good painter and a publisher of books until the big bug hit him. I don't think he has recovered.

I had hoped that his stay on the west coast of the United States would have cured him of the ailment. I had expected him to return to Pakistan in perfect health and set up a group on the lines of Alcoholics Anonymous to rehabilitate all those unfortunate men and women who are afflicted by politics. But it seems the United States did him more harm than good. He has come back even sicker than he was when he left. I think he is very unwell, judging by the statements he has been issuing.

I am told the only hope of bringing Mr Ramay back to health and happiness lies in effecting an immediate rupture of relations between him and my old friend Raja Numawwar Ahmed of Jhelum who has set up a thriving political practice. It is said that Raja Munawwar is grooming Mr Ramay for the big race. I hope he is aware that races have been abolished and he is wasting both time and money.

Mr Ramay is supposed to be the head of the Musawat Party. Who its other members are, nobody knows. It is, after all, technically possible to have a one-man party or even a one-horse race. And why not? It saves the leader so many headaches. No left wing, no right wing, no forward block, no back-benchers. All he is required to do is to look after himself, which, it seems, Mr Ramay is not averse to doing.

But what does he want? The other day he said Pakistan should make the big cracker. I don't know how much he knows about big crackers, but if the quantum of his knowledge on the subject is roughly equal to what he knew about finance when this unfortunate portfolio fell into his hands a few years ago, then I can only say: tut, tut.



I notice from pictures that Mr Ramay hasn't changed much over the years except that, like the rest of us, his mane of hair has acquired some gray. That should not worry him overly. Nobody really minds gray hair and who in his right mind wants a head of hair like Mr Reagan's? How much Mr Ramay has grown in wisdom, there is no saying.

Nor am I any longer sure if the symbol of his party remains what it was-- a flat palm staring you in the face. In Lahore the Ramay party was instantly christened the Panja Party, which is as good a name as any, except that, if in Sind, you flash your flat palm at somebody, you can get your head bashed in. But I take it Mr Ramay has no political ambitions in the Valley of Mehran. So that is all right.

Were Mr Ramay to ask me for advice on career development, I would suggest he go back to being the office secretary of the Pakistan Muslim League which, under the able and heavenly guidance of the Pir Sahib of Pagara, is going like a house on fire. This may or may not help him stay in the race, but if he likes horses, that is where it is at. It is even possible that one day in his benevolence the chief may even slip Mr Ramay a red hot tip about one of those start-to-finish winners. There is no greater feeling than watching the winner romping home.

CSO: 4600/461



RETIRED GENERAL TO HEAD KASHMIR LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 12 Mar 84 p 8

[Article by Ashraf Hashmi]

[Text] Islamabad, March 11--The Azad Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference has announced the formation of a separate wing known as the Kashmir Liberation Organisation (KLO) to organise the Kashmiris afresh, mobilise them for their just cause, and take necessary steps to gain world support for undoing the Indian occupation of Kashmir.

Addressing a crowded Press conference here this afternoon, the President of the Party, Sultan Mahmood Chaudhry, said that the new wing will be headed by Lt Gen (Retd) Faiz Ali Chishti who, according to him, was not only a "man of high calibre and stature" but was also dedicated to the cause of Kashmir. He said he was glad that Gen Chishti had willingly accepted the chairmanship of KLO and placed his services at the disposal of the party.

Answering a number of questions by foreign correspondents, the Kashmiri leader said that the activities of the new organisation would be peaceful and no armed struggle would be launched.

Explaining the reasons for the formation of a separate organisation, he said, apart from the ineffectiveness of the U.N., there were certain other factors which caused a setback to the Kashmir liberation movement. Among these was the role of undemocratic governments in Pakistan and their wrong policies. In the absence of political stability in the country, the resolve to fight for the just cause of Kashmir's liberation was diluted. He said it was shocking that the previous government of Azad Kashmir, which is the "base camp" of the Kashmir Liberation Movement, had not reserved any funds for the freedom movement in the Azad Kashmir Budget.

He said though India had benefited from the slow-down of the liberation movement, the Kashmiris had proved to the world that they believed in the two-nation theory by defeating Indira Gandhi's party in the elections to the State Assembly. The election results, he said, were a morale booster for the people of Azad Kashmir and had reinforced their determination to liberate the occupied part of the State.

The formation of KLO, he added, was discussed in depth by the supreme council of his party since it was not an ordinary matter. He said his party wanted to work till victory on a solid basis and would do its best to unite the Kashmiri masses. A network of KLO cells would be laid in Azad Kashmir, Pakistan and abroad.

He appealed to the national and international Press revolutionary organisations, freedom fighters and all those who believed in self-determination to extend their full support to the noble cause of the Kashmiri people.

Referring to the arms build-up in India with the help of the Soviet Union, he said that it was meaningful that India, which claims to be non-aligned and is current chairman of NAM, was entering into a virtual military pact with the Soviet Union which is storing an enormous quantity of modern and sophisticated weapons in India on the pretext that the Americans are arming Pakistan. In this connection he mentioned the visit of the Russian Defence Minister who led a delegation of 55 military experts and had secret meetings with the Indian Prime Minister. This, he said, was a direct threat to Pakistan's security.

CSO: 4600/461

## PAKISTAN

### COMMENTARY ON RELATIONS WITH U.S.

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 15 Mar 84 pp 16, 17

[Article: "Putting All Eggs in One Basket"]

[Text] Pakistan continues to put all its (military) eggs in one (US) basket. This was the comment by an ex-service man who for obvious reasons would not like to be named.

The comment came after the news that Pakistan had contracted to buy 20 attack helicopters from the United States for use against ground armour, specially tanks. They are called A.H.I.S. modernised "Cobras."

The first batch of ten will be given to Pakistan between September and November next and the rest between January and May of 1986.

"Cobras" have been described as the 'Free World's' (and Pakistan's rulers proudly claim to be a member of it) "most advanced, most cost-effective helicopter weapon system" that has been integrated by most NATO nations into their Army aviations.

### Another Good News

Saturday (Mar 10) morning we were given another "good" news. The second batch of (six) F/16s was flying into Sargodha base from Dahrn (Saudi Arabia) where it was made over to Pakistan by the Americans. The six are fitted with latest ALR-69 radar. The first batch of six, given a year ago, did not have these and the Pakistanis were not very happy over Americans not giving the wares in full measure. The White House overruled the US Air Force objections which pleased Islamabad. Another four "falcons" will be in by June. Of the 40 bought with a loan at 14%, 16 would thus have arrived by the middle of this year.

Government experts hope that the 16 will enhance the deterrence capability of the country.

The two reports have appeared in the wake of Soviet Defence Minister Dimitri Ustinov's visit to India during which the Marshal is reported to have told Mrs Gandhi that Moscow wanted to expand military cooperation with New Delhi "in the interest of world peace." Such cooperation, he was reported as saying, was "badly needed" in view of the growing international tension.

Two days later (Mar 7) Indian External Affairs Minister Narisimha Rao told the Indian parliament that tension had increased in the subcontinent because of the induction of arms into the area by "outside" Powers. He particularly referred to the supply of increasingly sophisticated American arms to Pakistan.

Meanwhile, Defence Minister Venkataraman told the Rajya Sabha that the improved airports in Gilgit and Skardu "posed a direct threat" to (the Indian-held) Laddakh.

#### Edge Over Pakistan

On another occasion Venkataraman said that India had an edge over Pakistan in the balance of military power. India has already superior weapons and it has requested the Soviet Union for improved versions of MIGs which were better than F/16s.

In the midst of all these reports, the talk of reducing tension in South Asia and economic cooperation sounds frolicsome and meaningless. The picture of Pakistan which emerges is of fear and tension on its two flanks and an uncertain future within, a government which insists on continuing to rule without the support and the mandate of the people. We may be a hard nut, but we seem to be in the grip of the cracker.

The Chinese President Li Xiannian arrived in this scenario. It was an exercise in ceremony the oft-repeated cliches about friendship being taller than the Himalayas, etc, etc, and the concern over Afghanistan's "occupation" by the Russians and the fate of Kampuchea were repeated in public utterances. If anything solid was achieved it was under the cover.

#### Anglo-American Traffic

The Anglo-American traffic to Islamabad remained thick, the most significant being that of Howard Schaffer, US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, who obliged Islamabad by making a statement "with full authority" in New Delhi that his country had no intention of seeking bases in Pakistan. However, his testimony before the Congress House Committee did not go unnoticed by observers that the "stability and security of Pakistan contribute significantly to the achievement of US objectives in South and South-West Asia."

He was reported to have described Pakistan as a "Frontline State." Schaffer told the committee that "without Pakistan's leadership on Afghanistan issue in international forums and its refusal to be cowed down, Moscow would have been able to consolidate its hold and Afghanistan would have faded from the world agenda."

## Reagan Encouraged

Schaffer noted that not only economic assistance was necessary, "the development and strengthening of representative institutions also plays a significant role" and went on to say that the Reagan Administration was "encouraged by President Zia's August 12 announcement" and also by the recent release of a number of political detainees. He called Pakistan "one of world's largest Islamic States" which can "serve as an anchor for the entire region."

In the context of what this American spokesman has said, the CMLA-President's fear that foreign interference could not be ruled out in different forms during the elections becomes all the more meaningful.

The CMLA-President expressed the fear in an interview with a panel of the daily Wifaq, Lahore.

Indeed, discerning observers here say it was not difficult to see which Power was interested in what, and pose the question: Did any of the arms in the arsenals of the late Shah help him continue to watch the American interests in the region?

Pakistan has more or less remained unconcerned over the significant developments in West Asia. Of course, it could not rejoice over the ouster from Lebanon of the Americans and the British but perhaps a word would not have mattered if said over Gemayel's agreeing to abrogate the (humiliating) May 17 accord signed with Israel under the aegis of the United States.

Islamabad also took no notice of the U.S. intention to shift its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, observers here noted. Pakistan seems to have cut itself aloof from West Asia, its performance at Casablanca notwithstanding.

## Interesting Picture

An interesting picture has come from London of the situation within the PPP which is generally considered as the main opposition plank against the military rule and it is not a rosy picture, to say the least. The report says that 35 exiles from all over Europe had a marathon powwow in London (Mar 5) with Benazir in the chair and decided to hold a public meeting in London on April 8 (Sunday and a holiday) when a major policy announcement will be made by Nusrat Bhutto. They also decided to set up committees which will draft future policy, organise overseas branches, prepare fresh documents etc. In short, the party is being rejuvenated. It was a house sharply divided between Right and Left. There were acrimonious exchanges and personality conflicts came to the fore.

RESTRICTIONS ON TRAVEL, CULTURAL EXCHANGE BY PAKISTAN, INDIA CRITICIZED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 15 Mar 84 pp 25-26

[Article by Khalid Hasan: "Open the Windows to Air"]

[Text] Far be it from me to write a 14-part series on how to improve relations between India and Pakistan. Such learned work I leave to Gen A.I. Akram and the various institutes in the fair city of Islamabad. However, there are a few things I want to say on the subject in elementary English.

Some months ago I spent several weeks in India--mostly in New Delhi--and kept wondering what it was that kept the two countries hostile. It is certainly not the people. The policies followed by the two governments over the years do not reflect either the people's interests or their views. Official attitudes have become calcified and we have become the prisoners of petrified and mostly outdated assumptions.

Every fresh initiative, every genuine effort to consign the past to where it belongs, has been methodically sabotaged by the bureaucrats who, unfortunately, operate State relations. It seems to me that nothing short of the abolition of the present foreign and home ministries in the two countries will do if India and Pakistan are to live like brothers.

Travel Curbs

The monstrous and self-defeating travel and visa arrangements need to be done away with first. The humiliating requirement of police registration in the two countries is not only pointless but an affront to human dignity. The two countries' phobia about spies and intelligence is both ridiculous and tragic. In any case, spies do not travel on visitors' visas. And what is there really to find out? Troop movements are known on both sides, as is the state of preparedness and the kind and quantity of weapons possessed by the defence forces.

I first went to India in 1968 as part of a pilgrim party. That was the only way to go. When we returned, I remember being asked by a Pakistan intelligence underling at the Husseinwala border post if there was anything I had seen in India which could be of interest to the Government. "Don't be ridiculous," I told him. I must say that the thought did cross my mind to

report massive troop movements between Delhi and Ferozepur. That would have served him and his masters right. I am quite sure the same thing has happened to many Indians on their return from Pakistan. It is farcical.

I would also like to ask officials of the two Governments why the philistinish ban on books and periodicals is being maintained. It was imposed after 1965 which was as long as 19 years ago. If people were only able to read freely and immediately what is being published in the two countries, it would mean the dawn of a new era of understanding. But I suppose those who are continuing with this ridiculous policy do not wish that to happen. Let us take another example.

#### Films, TV

Public exhibition of films made in the other country is not allowed. While this measure might have been effective before the age of video, it is totally senseless now. There are more Indian films available on video in Pakistan than there are in India, for the simple reason that because of smuggling and a liberal import policy, there are more videos per capita in Pakistan than in India.

Pakistani television programmes are watched in India--wherever they can be--with great interest and vice versa. This is a fact of life and bureaucrats fortunately have not yet devised a method of regulating air-waves. That being so, why don't the two countries exchange television programmes? Pakistan will have a headstart here because Indian television is both dull and amateurish. Those who are afraid of an Indian cultural invasion should know that for once Pakistan has a chance to mount one of its own, the next best thing to mounting a flag on the Red Fort.

When the two countries agreed to exchange a Press correspondent each a few years ago, one felt pleased. However, after having studied the damage this step has wrought, at least in Pakistan, one feels little hesitation in recommending that in the interest of better relations the arrangement should be terminated. I am not much familiar with copy being filed from Islamabad, but I have made note of that being filed from Delhi. Let me elaborate.

I would like to state for the record that personally I have great respect for the Pakistani agency correspondent based in New Delhi. He is both wise and experienced and he is a good journalist. Unfortunately, it seems to me that in the discharge of his professional duties, he is being guided by bureaucrats of the Pakistan Foreign Service based in the Indian capital.

India is a vast country and it is well covered by the large number of newspapers and periodicals published there. If a correspondent reads just the morning papers and the main periodicals, he can gather enough copy to keep the tickers running for hours on end. However, I found that the only stories being sent from Delhi were those which were in keeping with the policy line of the day in Islamabad and traditional prejudices.



I was in Delhi during the time of the Sind disturbances last year. Since it was officially being maintained back home that the disturbances had an 'external' hand and that there was official interference from Delhi in the internal affairs of Pakistan, that exactly was the line being followed in the Pakistani correspondent's despatches.

It was tragic that what was being filed was rarely in keeping with facts. I only wish to cite one example. A large seminar was held at the India International Centre and addressed by a most distinguished group of speakers. It was presided over by Mr P.N. Haksar and the level of debate and the quality of presentations were most impressive. It was not a gathering of RSS communalists, but of sober, well-informed men interested in Pakistan's welfare and the revival of democracy.

#### Distorted Version.

I did not spot the Pakistani correspondent among those present, although it was open to the Press. However, the despatch filed and published in home papers was a complete distortion of what had taken place at the meeting and what the flow of discussions had been. The despatch suggested that an 'anti-Pakistan' meeting had taken place and poisonous speeches had been delivered there and it was all part of an Indian Government strategy to interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs and destabilize the Government. I do not know where the correspondent got his information, because, although foreign embassies had been invited, I did not notice anyone from the Pakistan mission present either. I wonder how accurate the report sent to the Foreign Office in Islamabad was, but I suspect not much different from the agency despatch.

Unfortunately, the only news published in Pakistan about India is news of anti-Muslim riots, the Sikh agitation and the mindless outpourings of fringe parties and politicians. No-one can get an idea of what India is like from a reading of Pakistani papers. Although this is also true of India, it is much less so. This is a tragic and dangerous state of affairs and must be brought to an end.

#### Pathetic

The popular view nurtured over the years by the Urdu Press in particular and the English Press in general that India has never been reconciled to the existence of Pakistan and would gobble it up at the first opportunity is both inaccurate and pathetic. It shows lack of confidence in the Pakistani nation-State and an unwillingness to identify the internal causes of the many crises the country has faced since 1947.

If a nation-State is so fragile that it cannot bear the shock of the printed word or an image on the screen, then there is something very seriously wrong with it. I do not believe Pakistan is fragile and I do not believe we need to be 'protected' from people and events across the border.



I believe that our destiny lies in close and fraternal ties with our neighbours--and that means India, first and foremost. We belong to the subcontinent and we should act accordingly. We may have a Gulf coastline but we are not a Gulf State and that is the truth.

Let us then open the windows and allow fresh air and sunshine to come in. Fresh air and sunshine never killed anybody.

CSO: 4600/461

## PAKISTAN-INDIA ARMS RACE CRITICIZED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 15 Mar 84 pp 24-25

[Article by M.B. Naqvi: "A Mad Arms Race"]

[Text]

THE PRESENT situation is alarming. Despite declarations of reasonableness on both sides, tension is actually mounting and the arms race is continuing apace. It was in similar circumstances that the two countries strayed into wars in the past.

One's starting point is that war is an evil, *per se*. It must be prevented. No issue is ever settled by arms. Pakistan, and India have fought three wars and their economies are the worse for them. Economically, too, war is a ruinous business.

One may not know for certain about India, the people of Pakistan are certainly desirous of peace and friendship with India. Even about India, one's presumption is that a majority of its people do not want war, whatever may be the thinking of the vested interests.

When one wishes to investigate the precise reasons why India should make war on Pakistan, one draws a blank. The reasons usually advanced do not stand up to scrutiny. The idea of undoing the partition of 1947 (or its present shape) would involve a social, political and economic price that the more conservative Right-wing Indians would be loath to pay. Various versions of hurting or weakening Pakistan (including its Balkanising) would probably please the old Right-wing Pakistan-baiters. But factually it is not so. Of the old Right-wing-Hindu-extremist parties, most appear to be making friendly noises toward Pakistan.

## Effective rebuttal

Another view pressed with considerable force is that the present Indian government would like to bash up the present military regime in Pakistan. The aim could be to help replace it with another that can be expected to be friendly to India, just as Shaikh Mujibur Rehman government in Dhaka was. If an element of plausibility is given to this view by the heightened passions of today, India's experience of Bangladesh rebuts it forthwith.

The international situation around the Persian Gulf and the Southeast Asia, not to mention elsewhere, is brought in to make conflicting scenarios look reasonable. But the very precariousness of the world situation must make it hazardous for India to make war on Pakistan. For a war releases unforeseeable forces and weakening of Pakistan -- if that is the result -- cannot, in the situation, benefit Indians on any scrutiny of the matter from an Indian viewpoint. No, there is no rational reason why India should wish to fight Pakistan now.

## Nor for Pakistan

On the other hand, Pakistan has also absolutely no reason why it should provoke war with India. The Pakistan Government is on record as having assured India that its No-War Pact offer includes its application to

Kashmir. If that be so, Pakistan has absolutely no reason to countenance another war with India.

Then, it has on its hands a very troublesome situation on its western borders. It is simply in no position to divert attention from Afghanistan and places beyond it in the west. Moreover, it is the expert assessment given by American generals that the balance of power existing between India and Pakistan would, even after Pakistan has received every bit of promised American military aid, decidedly remain in favour of India. Pakistani generals have repeated this a number of times. Even the Indian generals have accepted it. All of which goes to establish that no reasonable person in Pakistan, in and out of uniform, can think of taking up arms against India.

If both countries have no realistic objectives for fighting, what is the point of the present arms race and the consequent tensions? Insofar as Pakistan is concerned, the position is rather queer: We are embarked on a military arms acquisition programme that is doing two things: First, since it is being strenuously objected to by New Delhi, it is increasing the ill-will between the two countries and accelerating India's arms build-up.

Secondly, the exercise is less than rational, because the whole programme is predicated on the assumption that it would not seriously disturb the power balance with India. The Pakistanis are going to pay through the nose for a build-up that will admittedly leave Pakistan quite as inferior to India in defence capabilities as it was before it set out on these acquisitions. This makes no sense. Why should we do something that wounds the designated enemy but does not enable us to strike decisively at him? The only reason why an armament build-up can be justified is if it actually changes the balance of power in our favour.

Why are we engaged in this irrational exercise? If, as can be argued, facts of economics and demography are against us and we are not in a position to change the balance of power decisively enough to safeguard

our supposed interests, the rational course would be to opt out of the arms race. One runs a race in order to win it. If it can be shown that a given race cannot be won, there is no point in running it. Opting out will dramatically diminish the tension and the clouds of war — so much in the news — will immediately be lifted.

### Simple commonsense

The argument is bound to sound strange because it is based on simple commonsense. It is against the grain of inherited wisdom. The latter lays down that peace between nations is kept by maintaining a balance of power. It is almost a heresy to cast doubt on its efficacy. Yet, the simple fact is that it is a false concept. Balance of power itself is an elusive thing; one can hardly find it in real life. There are, mainly, two historical examples that are cited: First, no world-wide war has broken out since 1946. Secondly, the Congress of Vienna, masterminded by the great practitioner of the art of *realpolitik* Metternich, inaugurated a fairly longish period of peace in Europe until the Crimean War broke the European tranquillity.

There are no other major instances. The rest of human history comprises nothing else but the evidence that balance of power between nations is a chimera and that nations have been going to war all the time for a variety of reasons. Insofar as the two major examples are concerned, like Nixon many can argue with much justification that hundreds of small wars and civil wars that have taken place and are still in progress themselves constitute either the dreaded Third World War itself or are the necessary preparatory moves for the feared armageddon. As for the peace in Europe following the Metternich achievement has been explained by historians in many ways. At any rate, it concerned certain Powers that went on pursuing their empire-building, with attendant wars and violence, in the rest of the world — and that too for a short time.

As mentioned already, the very concept of the balance of power is elusive, if not unreal. Philosophically it changes with every passing day. It is inherently unstable and susceptible to myriad influences impinging on relations between any two States constantly. In fact, it is a flawed idea. At any rate, history provides no basis for supporting it. On the contrary, what history does prove is: most attempts at maintaining balances of power have failed and the resulting arms race have heightened tensions and eventually resulted in wars.

CSO: 4600/461

REPORT ON ISLAMIC ECONOMIC SYSTEM SUBMITTED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 16 Mar 84 pp 1, 8

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, March 15: The Council of Islamic Ideology has submitted to the government a report consisting of consolidated recommendations for enforcement of Islamic economic system in the country.

This was stated by Chairman of the Council Dr. Tanzilur Rehman in an interview here today.

He said the Council formulated the report as required under 1973 Constitution.

He said the report took stock of the measures taken so far towards the introduction of Islamic economic order in the country. It also suggested the steps needed to be taken for accelerating the process of Islamization, he added.

Giving some details of the report, the Chairman stated that the report consisted of four parts, which dealt with Riba (Interest), Zakat and Ushr, Taxation and some other matters relating to Islamic economy separately.

Dr. Tanzilur Rehman further said that the report, among other things, contained proposals for conducting special training programme for officers of economic ministries and financial institu-

tions, an appraisal of the interest-free banking in Pakistan, review of the council's earlier report of 1980 on the elimination of interest from the country's economy.

He said the Council also suggested in the report some measures to be undertaken by the government so as to eliminate interest from the economy. The report also dealt with the concept of ownership of capital in Islam and several other important matters concerning Islamic economics, he added.

The Chairman in reply to a question said that the Council suggested elimination interest from the country's economy by June, 30, 1984. But, he however, added that the government could judge the practical feasibility and period required for its implementation.

He observed that the government, after receipt of the report, has fixed Oct. 85, as the last date for complete elimination of interest from country's economy at all levels.

He welcomed the announcement of president Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq in this connection. — APP.

## LOWER BALANCE OF PAYMENTS RECORDED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 16 Mar 84 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Pakistan's balance of payments recorded a current account deficit of Rs. 2,065 million during the year 1982-83 which was substantially lower by Rs. 9,428 million than the deficit of Rs. 11,493 million in the year 1981-82.

The narrowing down of the current account deficit was attributable mainly to an increase of Rs. 13,339 million to Rs. 43,462 million in unrequited transfers (net), offset partly by larger net payments of Rs. 2,533 million under services and higher trade deficit of Rs. 1,453 million as compared to the previous year. The net capital inflow of Rs. 10,887 million not only covered the adverse current account balance but also resulted in an overall surplus of Rs. 8,822 million during the year 1982-83 as against the deficit of Rs. 5,825 million in the year 1981-82.

The trade deficit increased to Rs. 37,911 million in 1982-83 from Rs. 36,458 million in 1981-

82. The increase in the trade gap over the previous year was due to higher import payments by Rs. 10,286 million offset partly by larger export earnings by Rs. 8,833 million.

The surplus on invisibles increased to Rs. 35,766 million in 1982-83 from Rs. 24,960 million in the previous year. The deficit on service transactions increased by Rs. 2,533 million to Rs. 7,696 million in 1982-83. While compared to the last year, the aggregate receipts increased by Rs. 2,265 million or 25 per cent to Rs. 11,508 million and aggregate payments rose by Rs. 4,797 million or 33 per cent to Rs. 19,203 million. The net inflow of unrequited transfers at Rs. 43,462 million in 1982-83 compared to Rs. 30,123 million of the previous year recorded an increase of 44 per cent.

The net capital inflow in the non-monetary sector at Rs. 10,887 million during the year

was higher by Rs. 5,219 million than the preceding year. Net inflow under private long-term capital, including direct investment and utilisation/repayment of foreign loans including PAYE credits increased by Rs. 1,666 million to Rs. 5,087 million.

The private short-term capital (other than direct investment) largely consisting of transactions under the "Foreign Currency Accounts Scheme" recorded a net inflow of Rs. 3,520 million as compared with Rs. 342 million in the previous year. In the General Government sector, long-term loan disbursements net of repayments amounted to Rs. 2,996 million during the year 1982-83 as compared to Rs. 2,072 million in the preceding year. The total utilisation and repayment of long-term loans and credits amounted to Rs. 13,002 million and Rs. 5,469 million respectively during the year.

CSO: 4600/458

OBSERVING SUNDAY, NOT FRIDAY, AS HOLIDAY URGED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 15 Mar 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Time To Switch Over to Sundays as Weekly Holiday"]

[Text] In a desperate bid to protect itself from the wrath of the people who had stood up for the restoration of the sanctity of vote and for the imposition of Islam in the country, the previous regime took a number of hasty decisions in the name of Islam. One was the shifting of the weekly holiday from Sunday to Friday. This decision was taken without going into the pros and cons of the matter. It was, of course, a sentimental demand of a section of people who thought that in an Islamic State all work should remain suspended on Fridays, for Friday had been proclaimed as Afzal-ul-Ayyam. Afzal though it is, nowhere in the Quran has it been enjoined upon the Muslims not to do any work on Friday and spend the entire day in prayers. On the contrary, the Muslims have been ordained to suspend their businesses soon after hearing the call of the Muezzin and gather in the mosques. And, when the prayers are over, they should disperse and busy themselves in their worldly chores. There can be no two opinions as far as this Quranic injunction is concerned. As such, suspension of work on Fridays is not anything Islamic. However, closure of business during the prayer time is an injunction and it has got to be strictly observed. No one can go against this order.

From purely worldly point of view, the decision of the Bhutto regime has done great harm to the country. It was not a step towards Islamisation of the society, nor was it beneficial from the social and economic point of view. Ever since Friday has been made the weekly holiday, it has been observed that the number of people offering prayers in the mosques has substantially declined. The reason is obvious. People who worked six days a week need a day to look after their personal needs and to rest. Friday being the holiday, they first busy themselves with the work they cannot do during the week, and this work is not always over before skips the prayers. Children and the youth spend their entire holiday in recreation and sports. Consequently, the attendance in the mosques cannot increase. It is, indeed, sad and deplorable. Yet it is a fact of life to be recognized.

Looking at the decision from another angle, Pakistan remains totally cut off from the government, business and financial institutions of the world for about three and a half days, in certain cases full four days, in a week. We cannot have any business transaction with the countries of the world on Fridays, when we are completely closed, and on Saturdays and Sundays, when the rest of the world is closed. As a result, Pakistan can have no financial transactions for all these days in a week. It is a luxury which a poor country like Pakistan cannot afford. To compare us with the Arab world where Friday is observed as the weekly holiday is rather absurd. Most of these countries, though underdeveloped, are rich and very rich. Their colossal oil earnings are kept in the banks of the Western countries which remain closed on Saturdays and Sundays. But in view of the size of their deposits, they can compel those banks to work for them even on holidays. If they just threaten these banks with the withdrawal of some of their deposits, it may cause a world wide financial disturbance. As such the Arabs can afford to remain closed any day they like without impairing their economic or financial interests. But as far as Pakistan is concerned, it is not so. We are the borrowers who are not supposed to dictate terms.

That a large section of the people has been complaining of the difficulties due to closure of work on Fridays for quite some time is known to all. Trade and industry particularly had been at one time quite vocal in emphasising the need for a change, for its problems have multiplied and resulted in losses. Time and again the issue has been discussed publicly, but nothing has been done so far. Once again the need for a change is being stressed to switch over to the old practice of observing Sunday as weekly holiday. BUSINESS RECORDER has also been supporting this demand all along. To the present regime the decision has come as a fait accompli. It cannot be held responsible for it. But since it has rectified some of the wrongs done by the previous regime, it can be expected to correct this mistake as well, for it has been causing losses to the nation. Let Friday be a working day and Sunday be observed as a closed holiday. There is nothing un-Islamic in it.

CSO: 4600/458



## PAKISTAN STEEL: DOWNSTREAM PROJECTS DISCUSSED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 15 Mar 84 p 2

[Article by M.A. Qureshi]

[Text] Pakistan Steel, aimed at establishing a fully integrated steel plant with an initial production capacity of 1.1 million tons of steel per annum and a built-in potential of 2 million tons, using the latest Blast Furnace technology for iron-making and BOF/Ld Converter for steel making with continuous casting process, is located at Bin Qasim - 40 kilometers east of Karachi City. Pakistan Steel is destined to open a new chapter not only in Pakis-

tan's economic and industrial development but also in the growing economic cooperation and bilateral trade relations with the friendly countries of the Middle East and South East Asia. The Plant has already been in operation since August' 1981. It has already started export of its coke, pig iron and billets which are of International standard as facilities for physical and chemical testing of all the products of ferrous metals are adequately

available within the Plant.

With the completion of Hot Strip Mill in Dec' 1983 and Cold Rolling Mill by June, 1984 or even earlier, important products like not rolled sheets, cold rolled sheets, galvanized sheets, and formed sections would also be available.

On attaining the full cycle of production, the product-mix of PAKISTAN STEEL, would be as follows:-

Main Products	Size/Specification	Qty in thou. Tonnes/ Year available for sale
Coke	+80 mm, 25-80 mm, 0-25 mm	215
Pig Iron	Pigs off 18, 23, 45 kg.	135
Billets	50x50 mm - 100 x 100 mm Length upto 8 metres	260/400
Hot Rolled Sheets	Thickness : 1.6 - 10 mm Width : 80 - 1500 mm Length : 2.5 - 6 metres/coils	445/305
Cold Rolled Sheets	Thickness : 0.3 - 2.5 mm Width : 60 - 1500 mm 1-4 mtr/coils	90
Galvanized Sheets	Thickness : 0.3 - 1.5 mm Width : 700 - 1500 mm Length : 1-4 metres	100
Formed Sections	Angle : 80 x 80 - 150 x 150 mm Length : upto 12 metre Channels : 140 x 60 - 250 x 80 Other shapes from strip: 100-600 mm wide Length : Upto 12 metres.	120

## BY-PRODUCTS

Besides, valuable by-products like gases for generation of power, ammonium sulphate and fertilizer 17,200 tonnes, coal tar 46,500 tons and blast furnace granulated slag 300,00 tonnes will also be available for sale.

With a view to having assured disposal of its main products as also by-products and to produce value-added items, PAKISTAN STEEL has envisaged to strongly support proposals from local as well as foreign investors for the establishment of 'downstream projects' based on some products (especially hot rolled sheets/strips in coils, blooms, and billets and other by-products. efforts have, therefore, been made to attract local/foreign private investors for setting up the downstream projects either solely by them or as joint ventures. The projects identified for this purpose may be enumerated as under:

1. Tin Plate Manufacturing Plant
2. Slag cement manufacturing plant.
3. Slag block manufacturing plant.
4. Slag wool manufacturing plant.
5. Coal-tar fractionization plant.
6. Rails and heavy structures manufacturing plant.
7. Corrugated sheets and pipes manufacturing plant.
8. Gas cylinders manufacturing plant.
9. Seamless pipe manufacturing plant.
10. Large diameter spiral welded pipe manufacturing plant.
11. Wire Rod, baling hoops, nuts and bolts and special steel manufacturing plant.
12. Foundry, forge and ferro alloys manufacturing plant.
13. Re-rolling mill.
14. Calcium carbide manufacturing plant.
15. Tubular poles manufacturing plant.
16. Cast iron foundry.

Out of the above, following projects have been picked up already by some private sector Pakistani investors which are as follows:-

- i) Tinplate/Tinfree Plate alongwith Reduction Mill with a capacity of 120,000 tonnes per annum capable of expansion to 150,000 involving capital expenditure of about Rs.900/- million including foreign exchange component of Rs.374.00 million is in advanced stage of planning and the sponsors have submitted application for sanction of the project to Investment Promotion Bureau, Government of Pakistan in January, 1984 alongwith a modified feasibility report.
- ii) The proposal for setting up a large diameter pipe manufacturing plant (8" to 60" dia) with a capacity of 15000 tonnes per annum expandable to 25,000 tonnes per year involving capital cost of about Rs.121.409 million (F.E.Component of Rs.76.141 million) has been approved and is under implementation.
- iii) Wire Rod & Baling Hoops Strip Mill with an initial capacity of 29,000 tonnes per annum involving a capital cost of Rs.41.50 million including F.E. component of Rs.19.00 million has been approved. The foundation stone of the project was laid by Ashraf W.Tabani, Minister for Finance and Industries, Government of Sind in a simple ceremony on 2.11.1983.
- iv) Slag Block Manufacturing Plant with a capacity of 10 million blocks per annum involving capital expenditure of Rs.48.00 million including F.E.Component of Rs.30.00 million has been approved and the private party has also been arranged for implementation of the project.

- v) Coal-Tar Fractionization Plant : M/s Gokal Shipping & Trading Company, Karachi are the sponsors of the project. Detailed feasibility report prepared by their foreign consultants M/s TJAEREKOMPAGNIET of Denmark (who are also participating in the equity share of the proposed project) has been received and the same has been examined by PAKISTAN STEEL. They have submitted their application to Investment Promotion Bureau of getting approval of the project. The proposed project will have a capacity of 50,000 tonnes per year for processing crude tar. According to the Feasibility Report the capital expenditure of the project shall be about Rs.76.00 million including F.E.C. of Rs.16.00 million. PAKISTAN STEEL, has agreed, in principle, to supply the entire quantity of coal tar i.e. 46,500 tonnes/year that would be available from PAKISTAN STEEL required for the proposed project. Primarily the plant shall produce various types of road tar for road construction, tar oil and coreosote oil for wood preservation. It shall also be possible to produce light oils, carbolio, oils, naphthalene oil, wash oil, anthracene oil etc. depending on commercial requirement of the country. The equity participation of PAKISTAN STEEL in the above proposed project shall be to the extent of 10% amounting to about Rs.2.40 million.
- vi) Wire Rod & Special Steel manufacturing plant : A proposal for setting up a Wire Rod & Special Steel Manufacturing Plant has been received from M/s Al-Qavi Steel Corporation, Karachi. The capacity of the proposed project has been esti-

mated at 150,000 tonnes/year involving a capital expenditure of Rs.609.94 million including FEC of Rs.361.91 million. The project is proposed to be located at Hub Chowki and shall utilise about 105,000 tonnes of Billets and 1,000 tonnes of Pig Iron available from Pakistan Steel. The sponsors have submitted their scheme to Investment Promotion Bureau for approval. The feasibility report prepared by IACP on the above proposed project was also examined by PAKISTAN STEEL.

The project has been approved by Central Investment Promoting Committee (CIPC) on its meeting held on 30.11.83.

**Ideal Location, Infrastructure Facilities etc available for these downstream projects:**

The location of these downstream industries is of pivotal importance, from the view point of their commercial viability. Taking that into account, the proposed projects should be established within the vicinity of PAKISTAN STEEL as this will almost eliminate the transportation cost, both in bringing raw materials from PAKISTAN STEEL and marketing the finished products.

PAKISTAN STEEL has offered the following facilities in establishing these down-stream projects:-

1. Reserved sufficient developed land, which would be provided to prospective investors on a modest cost.
2. For the proposed units, utilities and services like, Power, Water and Telephone are also available. PAKISTAN STEEL will provide assistance to the prospective investors in arranging these services from the agencies concerned.
3. Availability of a large construction base comprising of concrete Batching Plant, Steel reinforcement shop, Shuttering, Steel Fabrication Facilities, a large number of construction machinery and equipment including cranes (upto 100 tonnes lifting capacity), trailers, dumpers, trucks etc. These can be provided at mutually agreed prices.
4. Supporting repair and maintenance facilities are also available at the Repair Shop Complex comprising Forge and Fabrication shop, Foundry, Mechanical Repair, Heat Treatment and Hard Surfacing Shop, Power Equipment Repair Shop, Pattern Making and Building Repair Shop, Rubberising Workshop, Diesel Locomotive and Wagon Shed, and Roll Grinding/Roll Turning Workshop.
5. A large storage facility for storage of machinery, equipment and materials before erection/construction is also available at a distance of about 2-3 kilometers from the proposed reserved

area. It has an access by Rail, National Highway and nearby Port Qasim.

6. with its highly skilled and technical manpower, PAKISTAN STEEL would also be able to extend requisite technical consultancy/advisory services. This is of significant importance as most of the proposed downstream project would be utilizing a new technology, at present non-existent in Pakistan.
7. Further PAKISTAN STEEL has offered to participate in the equity capital of the proposed projects.

#### **Training Facilities**

PAKISTAN STEEL, has also established a well-equipped training centre named 'Metallurgical Training Centre'. The Centre has been designed to train 1600 workers in 69 trades annually. Working since December 1975, it has trained by now over 4300 workers in different fields of electrical, mechanical and metallurgical engineering. English being medium of instruction, the Centre has 11 workshops, 6 laboratories, 9 study rooms, one methodics room, 11 class rooms, a library with reading room and a large auditorium of 600 persons seating capacity, equipped with 35 mm projector and also a Canteen for 350 persons.

The MTC has recently been declared as 'Centre of Excellence' by UNIDO in recognition of the high standard of training being imparted by it.

CSO: 4600/458

EXPORTS TO UAE SAID INCREASING

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 15 Mar 84 p 3

[Text]

ABU DHABI, March. 14: Leader of visiting Pakistan trade delegation to the UAE said his country's exports were increasing — both the traditional items and the non-traditional ones.

The volume in traditional items rice, sugar, wheat, meat, fish, fruits and vegetables, as well as textiles has grown because of better quality, packaging, shipping and delivery schedules, while the government's policies, like export incentives, loans and tariff cuts have enabled Pakistani manufacturers and exporters to increase the sale of goods to this region, said M. Aurnagzeb Khan.

During the last five years, Pakistan's overall exports have grown by an average of 26 per cent, "which again is the result of the wise private sector oriented fiscal policies of the present government," he said in an interview

with the 'Khalcej Times'.

Aurnagzeb Khan who is head of the Pakistan Tobacco Board said there was no longer any con-

gestion at Karachi Port, and there is another port nearby—Port Qasim.

The delegation includes representatives of marine products, electricals, printing, sports goods, tents, textiles, carpets, steel, fruits and vegetables. They have already completed a tour of the other Gulf states. They will visit Dubai and Sharjah on March 15 and 16.

Meanwhile according to figures released by Pakistan embassy in UAE, Pakistan's exports to the UAE during the financial year 1982-83 were 814.81 million dirhams, and from July to November 1983, were 397.30 million dirhams. —PPI.

CSO: 4600/458

WIRE ROD PLANT BEING BUILT

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 16 Mar 84 8

[Text]

A most sophisticated high speed wire rod manufacturing plant, designed to produce 1.5 lakh tons of various sizes of wire rods on single shift basis a year was being set up at Hub, some 14 miles north of Karachi, Chairman Al-Qawi Steel Corporation, Lodhi said on Wednesday.

Speaking at the seminar on "down stream" industries of Pakistan Steel Lodhi said the plant would produce up to 5.5 mm diameter wire rod coils, weighing approximately 1-ton each, from billet size 110 mm x 8 metre long of mild steel, high carbon low alloy and all types of special steel including stainless steel.

The plant will also produce other various sizes of wire rods in rounds, squares and flats and also bars shafts of all types of steels suitable for local production of wire ropes, electrode wires, various wire parts and special wires, nuts, bolts, screws, axle shafts, agricultural and machinery parts etc.

He said the continuous import of these items was consuming country's foreign exchange of about Rs. 750 million every year.

This plant, which is expected to go into production by end of 1984, will meet total requirements of all manufacturers, using wire rods/bars, for wire drawings, machine parts, nuts, bolts and forged/stamped parts of all types, sizes and steels.—APP.

CSO: 4600/458

HIGH LEVEL BODY SET UP FOR NWFP INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 16 Mar 84 p 8

[Text]

The Federal Government has set up a high level committee headed by Abdul Majid Mufti, Secretary, Defence Production for the industrial development of N.W.F.P. it was learnt today.

The committee's terms of reference are:

I) To study the existing policies regarding location of the industrial projects in the backward regions with special reference to the NWFP.

II) To recommend measures including policy changes which could provide a pragmatic framework for selection location of industries in NWFP, having due regard to the criteria for project appraisal and economic viability of the projects, and

III) to Study the role of the Federal and the Provincial governments in assisting the Public

Corporations and suggest measures which would induce Public Sector Corporations to step up their activities in the industrial sector in NWFP.

The other members, of the committee include Hasan Zaheer, Secretary Production, Syed Munir Husain, Secretary, States and Frontier regions Division M.I.K. Khalil, member, Planning Commission, Imtiaz Ahmed Sahibzada, Additional Chief Secretary, N.W.F.P. and Zaheer Sajjad, Secretary, Industry, N.W.F.P. -PPI.

ISLAMABAD, March 15: The Pakistan Sports Board has sanctioned an amount of Rs. 10,000 for Sheikh Zafar Ali; former Secretary-General, Pakistan Olympic Association, currently ill and hospitalized.

CSO: 4600/458

PAKISTAN

PLEA TO BAN FOREIGN TRAWLERS

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 15 Mar 84 p 8

[Text]

The Karachi Fishing Boat and Trawler Owners Group has demanded immediate ban on foreign trawlers for saving over 10 lakh Pakistani fishermen from unemployment.

Addressing a press conference at Karachi Press Club yesterday Haji Azam Ali, General secretary of the Association, said the Government has allowed the foreign trawlers two years back to fish outside the 35-mile territorial water limits.

He said the permission was being violated and the foreign trawlers were fishing within the 35-mile limit.

Their actions were detrimental to the Pakistani fishermen as the entire 'catch' was claimed by the in (foreign trawlers), he added.

Regarding ban on prawn catch in June and July, Haji Saheb said the prawns found in the Pakistani coastal waters were "Migratory in nature", hence the ban did not serve the purpose. By virtue of their nature the prawns generally migrate to the Indian coastal waters. More-over, he said during these months generally the sea becomes rough and fishing is impossible.

He also disapproved the idea of 'family growth' during these two months and said the growth continues round the year in small creeks where the trawlers can't enter.

CSO: 4600/458

MANUFACTURE OF MEDIUM SIZE CARS, SMALL TRACTORS UNDER STUDY

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 14 Mar 84 pp 1, 8

[Article by Saeed Qadir]

[Text]

LAHORE, March 13: The Federal Minister for Production, Lt-General Saeed Qadir, today urged the private entrepreneurs to faithfully take up the challenging task of industrialisation of the country to free the people of economic shackles in the form of foreign aid.

The Minister, who was addressing the Millat Tractors vendors' conference at a local hotel here today, said although the country had achieved political independence, its economic domination by way of foreign aid was still continuing. He said this shackle had to be broken in order to give the people the feeling of a really free society in economic sense, also.

The conference, which was first of its kind, was being attended by a large number of tractor dealers and manufacturers of tractor spare parts.

Pakistan, he said, faced the same situation today through which the United States passed about 200 years back. Dedicated and motivated entrepreneurs were needed to take the country on the path of progress and development, he said.

Saeed Qadir said that alongwith industrialisation, indigenisation must be kept in view in

order to end dependence on foreign imports. Availability of spare parts should be ensured in the country, for industrialisation and indigenisation were correlated and co-dependent.

Another factor which he said must be kept in view by the industrialists was standard, quality and price.

The Minister for Production said the Government may actively considering a proposal to allow manufacture of small tractors and medium-size cars of new makes in the country in order to meet the requirements of small farmers and people of not very high incomes.

Gen Saeed Qadir said that the government would standardize two or three types of cars after two or three makes to provide medium size cars at reasonable rates to the people.

He said, at present small Suzuki car was being supplied to the people. Its production had increased from 5,000 to 11,000 cars this year. This will greatly help meet the growing demand for this small sized car in the country, he said.

The Minister said that a diesel run car assembling plant in the private sector was also being set up.



About the standardization of tractor, the Minister said at present only five type of tractors were being sold in the market. Their further standardization, he said, would not be feasible and advisable as it would lead to monopoly in prices and quality. Diversification to this extent he said had been done purposely to provide tractors to the farmers at a fairly reasonable prices and also ensure their quality and maintain adequate supply.

At present, he said, there were more than 125,000 tractors in use and their number was on the increase. The Millat Tractors planned to turn out 20,000 tractors annually from next year which was only 6,000 some years back. This would ease supply of tractors to the farmers. He said, with more availability of tractors their prices should also be brought down to ensure a fair deal to the farming community which apart from feeding itself and other people should enjoy better life.

## RESEARCH

The Minister called for paying greater attention on research and development for which some money should be set apart for undertaking research in the related industry. In government sector tractor units, he said, one per cent of the sale was allocated for research and development.

The Minister also called for employing Pakistani engineers as apprentices in the industrial units in the private sector. This would enhance quality of their products and would also provide employment to graduate engineers. He said he was going to launch a scheme in the National Logistic Cell from tomorrow in Karachi by appointing 15 engineers as trainees without any bond.

About the problems earlier highlighted by various participants, the Minister assured them that he would take up these matters with concerned officials for their speedy solution by simplifying the procedure for the issuance of NOC, import of raw material and other matters.—APP/PPI.

CSO: 4600/458

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

GHAFFAR KHAN ON REFUGEES--Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, now free, says that he and his followers are not allowed to meet the Afghan refugees and has disclosed that the allowances of those who met "us" (that is, he and his followers) had been stopped and they have even been arrested. Men of the Jamaat-i-Islami, it may be mentioned, are free to work among the refugees. A high official looking after the refugees even praises the Jamaat for bringing about unity among the mujahedeen leaders who, he said, keep quarreling among themselves. [Text] [Lahore VIEWPOIN in English 15 Mar 84 p 17]

CSO: 4600/461

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